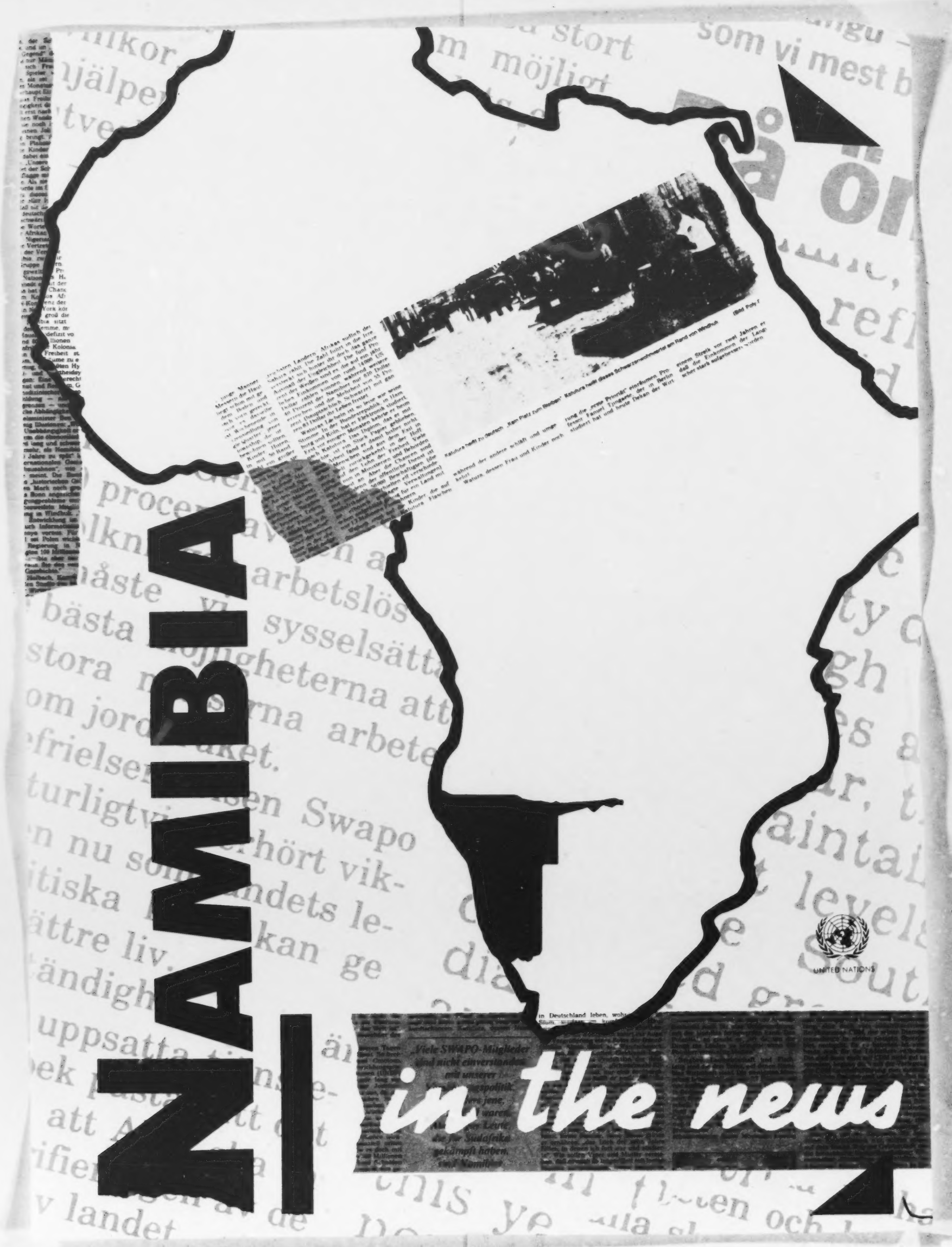

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A NOTE FROM THE ANTI-*APARTHEID*, NAMIBIA AND PALESTINE PROGRAMMES SECTION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INFORMATION

As part of the information programme on Namibia conducted by the United Nations Department of Public Information, a group of journalists visited the country between 23 April and 4 May 1990. The news mission's objective was to familiarize the journalists with the socio-economic situation in the country and to contribute to mobilizing emergency assistance from the international community for the new nation's development.

The group consisted of journalists from the following media: the Algemeen Nederlands Persbureau (Netherlands), *The Australian* (Australia), the British Broadcasting Corporation (United Kingdom), the *Business Times* (Singapore), *Le Figaro* (France), *Frankfurter Rundschau* (Federal Republic of Germany), *iDAG* (Sweden), the *London Free Press* (Canada), Norsk Telegrambyra (Norway), *Sanhei Shimbun* (Japan), the Southam News Services of Canada (Canada), *Suomen Kuvalehti* (Finland) and *Tokyo Shimbun* (Japan).

Over a 12-day period, the group met with senior government officials; prominent members of the business, industrial and agricultural communities; heads of development, education and training projects; labour leaders; and ordinary Namibians. They travelled widely throughout the country, visiting a variety of projects, ranging from an employment programme of the Association of the Handicapped in Namibia to a foster care home, the SOS Kinderdorf.

Discussions with officials at the Consolidated Diamond Mines and Rössing Uranium Ltd. were part of the itinerary, as were opportunities for the journalists to examine working conditions in these corporations and the workers' home environment.

The group also visited agricultural areas and fishing towns to view first-hand such activities as karakul sheep farming, subsistence farming and the fish-canning industry.

At certain times, the journalists had to split into smaller groups in order to meet with officials of key ministries, educators or trade union leaders, or to visit mines, agricultural research stations and game farms.

The United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Public Information, Mrs. Thérèse P. Sévigny, arrived on 29 April to join the mission. She chaired the journalists' round-table held on the last day to recap, with the Minister of Information, Mr. Hidipo Hamutenya, what the participants in the news mission had seen in the country.

The keynote speaker was Prime Minister Hage G. Geingob, who briefed the group on the relationship Namibia hoped to maintain with South Africa, despite their bitter history.

Other speakers included the President of the Chamber of Mines; the Deputy Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries, Water and Rural Development; and the Minister of Education, Culture and Sport.

In light of the Donors' Pledging Conference which the Secretary-General was convening on 21 and 22 June 1990 to raise funds for Namibia's development projects, some of the discussions at the round-table focused on Namibia's needs for the immediate future.

The articles* that follow are the journalists' personal impressions of Namibia during the news mission.

*Articles were received from all media participants except the representative of *Le Figaro*. The statements herein expressed are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the United Nations.

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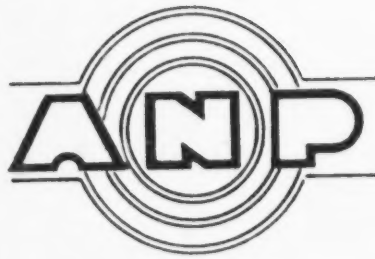

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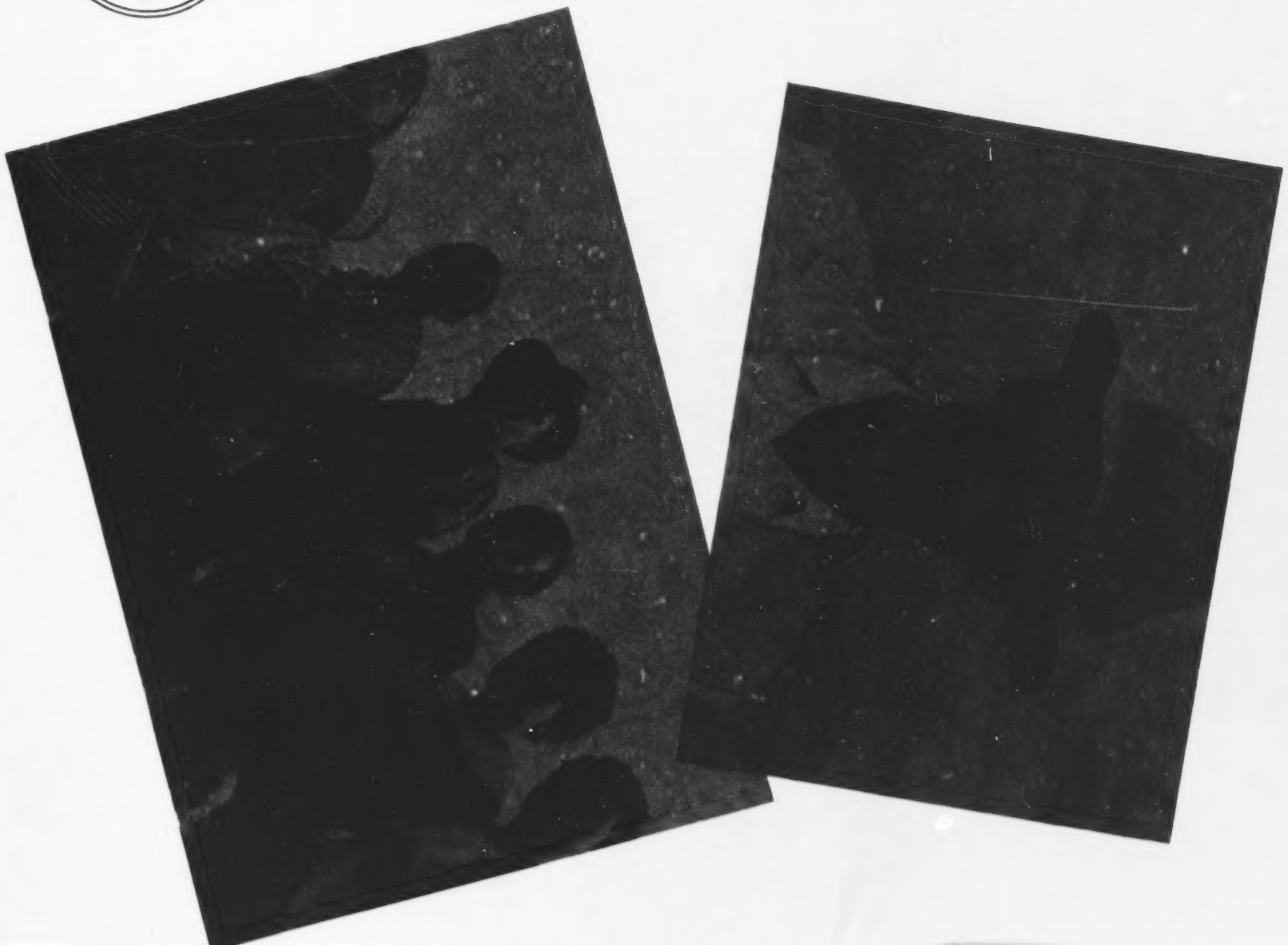


BASTERS IN REHOBOTH WANT TO HAVE THEIR OWN STATE

"The whole world says that everything that is happening in the Eastern bloc is good. Why then is it good for us to be always under the heel of people who are not from Rehoboth?" asks Captain Hans Diergaardt. He is the leader of the Baster community in Rehoboth, a territory as large as Israel in the centre of Namibia.

Diergaardt wants Rehoboth to become independent, since Namibia became independent from South Africa on 21 March.

"Lithuania has been forcibly subjected to the Soviet Union for 40 years. For 70 years we have been annexed by South Africa without our being consulted and without our consent. We fail to understand why the world does not see this as we do," says Diergaardt. "We are not represented in this new Government and we never shall be. Is that what the world wants?"

According to Diergaardt, the Baster problems started about 200 years ago. Then the Dutch and German colonists came to the South African Cape Province where they mingled with the local population. Their successors—the Basters—were not recognized by the white residents of Cape Town and were driven out into the countryside.

One Hundred Horses

Finally, around 1870, the Basters settled in Rehoboth, 90 kilometres from Windhoek, the capital of Namibia. In exchange for 50 wagons and 100 horses, they acquired Rehoboth from the local tribes, the Hereros and the Namas.

The Rehobothers reached an agreement with the Germans who colonized Namibia in 1884 that they could remain independent in exchange for their assistance in the German take-over of the rest of what was then South West Africa.

After the First World War Namibia was assigned to South Africa by the League of Nations as a Mandated Territory. In 1924, Rehoboth came under the administration of South Africa. "But they did not carry out a single word of the Mandate," says Diergaardt.

"They did nothing—undertook no development, built no schools—nothing at all." The Basters by themselves therefore, established farms and schools which were "among the best in Namibia," according to the Captain.

In 1976, South Africa accorded Rehoboth autonomy under the Self-Government Act, on a basis similar to that of the four "independent homelands in South Africa" (which are not recognized by any country in the world except South Africa). "South Africa itself wanted this," says Diergaardt, "in order to demonstrate that *apartheid* can work." The homelands system is part of the so-called "greater" *apartheid*. The idea was to establish homelands in South Africa and Namibia where the original black inhabitants were to reside, while the rest of the land went to the whites. The international community's opposition to South Africa's occupation of Namibia increased and in 1978 the United Nations Security Council called upon South Africa to surrender Namibia and to arrange for fair and free elections for an independent Government. The Namibian freedom movement—the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO)—was then recognized as the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people. "We have never been more united," says Diergaardt. SWAPO is supported particularly in Ovamboland in the north of Namibia. "This by itself can only lead to a SWAPO Government." In 1978, South Africa formed an interim Government for Namibia after elections, the result of which was not internationally accepted. Diergaardt was a member of the Government for three and a half years, as a result of which he was regarded by many Namibians as a collaborator who co-operated with the occupiers.

Finally, in late 1988, South Africa consented to an autonomous Namibia and, on 1 April 1989, initiated the independence process under United Nations auspices. In November of the previous year, elections were held and Diergaardt's Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) participated therein as part of a coalition with the Federal Convention of Namibia (FCN). For that purpose, the South African Administrator-General and the United Nations representative, Martti Ahtisaari, in June ordered the offices of the Rehoboth Government to be vacated so as to make way for the elections. Diergaardt said, "But we did this only to elicit the promise that the rights of the Rehoboth people would not be a topic for discussion. We informed the population that we have a duty to support the Christian Democratic parties and to exclude SWAPO. However, if SWAPO were to win with a two-thirds majority and deprive us of our rights, we should withdraw and become independent again." SWAPO won the elections with less than two thirds of the votes. Diergaardt was elected to the Constituent Assembly, but only to muster sufficient votes for FCN. For reasons of health, however, he had to hand in his ticket in one and a half months, and his seat was taken over by FCN representative Mbarumba Kerina. Kerina voted on behalf of FCN for the Constitution in which the Basters were absolutely not included. "We are no longer talking with Kerina"; that is all that the Captain wants to divulge in this connection. On 20 March, one day before Namibia officially became independent, Diergaardt convened the Rehoboth Council—the nine members counted as elected to Parliament. It was then decided that a referendum should be held among the Basters. Since then the referendum has been postponed several times but, as things look at present, all Basters will be able to express their views on the independence of Rehoboth on 19 May.

Rich in Gold

According to Diergaardt, if the Basters vote for independence, Rehoboth can manage by itself, economically speaking. Rehoboth may seem small (14,000 sq. km.), but it is

rich in gold, silver, copper, diamonds and other minerals. Pending the outcome of the referendum, Captain Diergaardt and his four "ministers"—the Captain's Council—have, for the time being, reoccupied their offices. But if Diergaardt stands fast, regrettably "the whole Government will remain in the hands of the Ovambo administration in Windhoek."

According to Diergaardt there are about 45,000 to 60,000 Basters. According to the Government there are about 35,000. They live not only in Rehoboth but also in Windhoek, Mariental and Swakopmund. They will all be invited to vote in the referendum according to plan. It will be held intentionally on a Saturday so that as many people as possible can vote. The Captain is still trying to organize independent observers for the Council's election. He is convinced that this will bring him victory in the referendum. But he adds that he will also accept a negative result. "I am doing this solely for the people of Rehoboth. I have a farm and a brickyard. I can therefore easily afford to give up politics."

Political observers in Windhoek assume that Diergaardt will be supported by only a few dozen Basters, mainly from the older generation. "Perhaps the Government is of the same opinion," says Diergaardt. "And perhaps they are doing nothing about it; they are waiting for the referendum. That will be another disappointment for them." According to Diergaardt, if the Basters vote for independence, Rehoboth can be self-supporting, economically speaking. It may seem small (14,000 sq. km.), for it is actually not as big as Israel. "And they are pulling through, even though they have far fewer resources. We have gold, silver, copper, diamonds and semi-precious stones," he continues. Mining experts confirm that there are good possibilities for mining in Rehoboth.

Rehoboth also has other raw materials. "For example, we can make our own glass. At present it still comes from South Africa but that is altogether unnecessary." Finally, there is agriculture. "For years we have all been left to our own devices. South Africa too has done nothing. And the SWAPO Government has announced that all assistance goes to the north."

This poses an enormous obstacle for Diergaardt, because "everything is at a standstill in the meanwhile. We cannot adopt any decisions. Nothing can be built and the farmers are getting no help in dealing with the drought." He concludes: "We want to be free and to handle our own affairs. Neither in the League of Nations, nor in the United Nations has the issue of the independency of the Basters been taken up, nor has it been debated in the International Court of Justice at The Hague."

Rössing Namibia: Great Benefactors or a Product of the Past?

Arandis lies in the desert, surrounded by sand-hills. Life there is quite pleasant: houses are cheap, medical supplies are good, there is a school and a workplace for young men who wish to acquire technical skills, and women can earn extra money in small businesses.

This sounds like the beginning of a science-fiction story, but the fact is that Arandis lies in the Namibian desert and is the property of one firm: Rössing Uranium Mines. The town has 900 houses and an average of seven people per house, at least one of whom works in the mine 20 kilometres away. If that one is fired, he must leave his house.

The great majority of the residents are black, but Axaro Tsowaseb, the town "manager", says that there are four white families living there for sure. The rest of Rössing's white workers live in Swakopmund, a popular holiday resort on the coast. A genuine oasis begins precisely where the last small, daily-sprinkled garden ends. According to the spokesman for Rössing, Charl Bester, the junior-level miners live in Arandis and the more highly qualified personnel in Swakopmund.

Separation

The fact that whites and blacks are separated has nothing to do with discrimination, but it has everything to do with the educational régime that was imposed on Namibia by South Africa. On 21 March, Namibia became independent after more than 70 years of South African domination. The after-pains of the South African *apartheid* policy will, however, continue to be felt for years.

The South African Government spent 10 times as much money on education for one white pupil as for one black pupil, with the result that 30 to 40 per cent of the children as a whole do not go to school and many adults cannot read or write. "It stands to reason," says Bester, "that the lowest-level miners are blacks."

"On the other hand," he says, "Rössing is doing its utmost to improve their situation. As the mine does not take on black workers on short-term contract, countless unemployed meander through the country in search of work, whereas the 2,200 white employees hold long-term contracts. In the course of time, people showing sufficient potential may take courses and training so as to advance."

The Namibian Miners' Trade Union (MUN) notes, however, that white employees are still paid more for the same work than their black workmates. The trade union spokesman also points out that Rössing tries to obtain extra clauses from sub-contractors who employ workers on a contractual basis. These workers earn about 52 guilders per month, while the other miners earn close to 500 guilders.

Foundation

In 1979, the Rössing Foundation was established "in order to promote the development of Namibia", with David Godfrey serving as Director. There are programmes for

illiterates and agricultural projects for teaching farmers how to improve their crops and livestock, because Namibia must become less dependent on food imports from South Africa.

The Foundation operates, among other places, in the black Katutura residential district of Windhoek, in the north, in Ovamboland, where more than half the Namibian population lives, and in Lüderitz in the south. Much interest is shown in the Rössing programmes, which are just as good as some regular national development projects.

There remains the question of why Rössing takes this trouble. "It is a showroom," says Ben Ulenga, the General Secretary of MUN. "They want to improve Rössing's image so that the enterprise can manage to stand up to strong criticism."

Rössing was producing illegally until independence, according to the UN Council for Namibia, which was appointed by the United Nations as the Territory's trustee. In its first Decree, the Council prohibited all exports of uranium unless the earnings therefrom were for the benefit of the country. The Council stated that Rössing had, without the Council's consent, sold uranium to various countries, including the Netherlands. Rössing itself will not provide any information on possible purchases or annual earnings and profits. "Competition in the uranium market is murderous," Bester explains. The mine, however, is working well, according to mining experts, and the profit is reasonable.

A social worker from Arandis makes the following cautious remark: "Whatever you may think, Rössing is one of Namibia's best employers." However, the opinion of Asser Kapere, Chairman of MUN, who works for Rössing, is that it is a disaster. "So long as you cannot choose where you want to live and you are primarily dependent on your employers, you are economically dependent, and you are not free." The Rössing managers must realize that a new wind is blowing."

Namibia: The War is Over; the Fight for Development Can Begin

Namibia has been independent for a little more than a month, and the signs are unmistakable: the new flag proudly waves all over Windhoek; the Government is thinking of changing "Kaiser Street" to "Independence Avenue"; and Namibia joined the United Nations officially on Monday. In a nutshell, Namibia is casting off more than 100 years of colonial domination.

Cezera Kandetu, the highest official in the Ministry of Information, says: "As you travel through Namibia you will always meet people who ask, in their amazement and disbelief, 'Is the war really over? Are we really independent?' " He admits that now and again he feels that he is dreaming, but then he continues belligerently: "The war may well be over; the new fight for national reconciliation and development has begun."

Even though all the experts agree that Namibia has an immense potential and that it may emerge as a "bright star in Africa's universe", as expressed by United Nations representative Edward Omotoso, the new Government is confronted with an enormous challenge. Namibia, which is larger than France and the Federal Republic of Germany together, has about one and a half million people. Sixty to 70 per cent of the population live in the north, in Ovamboland, Okavango and the Caprivi Strip.

The United Nations has estimated that 30 per cent of the labour force is out of work. The situation is even more serious because, on account of the independence, 40,000 refugees returned from abroad. In addition, the *apartheid* régime imposed on Namibia by Pretoria has left its marks.

Omotoso estimates the gross national product (GNP) per capita to be 3,400 guilders, a high figure by African standards. The GNP per capita for the 80,000 whites is about 29,000 guilders. The figure for blacks in urban areas is around 1,340 guilders, and for blacks in the countryside is up to 126 guilders.

Apartheid had more disastrous effects. For example, life expectancy for whites is between 69 and 72 years. The figure for blacks is 42 to 52 years. A black child has a seven times greater likelihood of dying than a white child. The most frequent causes are malnutrition and contagious diseases.

In addition, there is a serious shortage of housing for non-whites. The National Investment and Building Co-operative has estimated that, in black districts, an average of 18 people live in one house.

Another example of hardship: 70 per cent of the inhabitants are active in agriculture, but most people do not grow enough to make a living. Commercial agriculture is almost entirely in the hands of large-scale white farmers.

The Government is facing the task of addressing these problems and the people's expectations are high. Now that *apartheid* has been discarded, the Cabinet, consisting almost entirely of members of the freedom movement, SWAPO, has made the situation even worse. Under South Africa's administration, there were 10 homelands in Namibia for the black population, while the rest of the land was set aside for the whites. With the dismantling of the homelands however, each of which had its own Government and its own ministries, 55,000 officials have become unemployed. What is to be done with them is still unclear. The Government has stated that it will give priority to the improvement and development of health care, education, agriculture and housing. A lot of money is needed for this.

During its administration of Namibia, South Africa accumulated a Namibian debt of some 700 million rand (525 million guilders) and wants to transfer it to the Government in Windhoek. Windhoek is by no means inclined to start dealing with the arrears, but there is still no solution in sight.

The fact that experts, in spite of everything, are still so enthusiastic about Namibia's potentialities may be ascribed

primarily to the abundance of minerals and the rich fishing grounds. The mining industry, accounting for 28 per cent of GNP and 70 per cent of export earnings, is based for the most part on diamonds and uranium. The diamond mines are operated by CDM (Consolidated Diamond Mines), a branch of the South African De Beers company. Uranium is dug at the Rössing mines, which are 97 per cent in foreign hands. The third major mining company, Tsumeb, which digs for silver, copper and lead, is wholly owned by South Africa. These three enterprises account for 90 per cent of the Namibian mining industry.

On Friday, the Minister for Mining, Andimba Toivo ya Toivo, stated that he was thinking of nationalizing the mines in the future, but that he would be satisfied for the time being with joint ventures. CDM and Rössing say that a storm is brewing. CDM assumes that the Government will shortly have something to say, and Rössing, in order to impart some splendour to the festivities connected with independence, contributed three per cent of the donations.

In addition to minerals, Namibia has at its disposal particularly bountiful fishing grounds which, in past years, were unfortunately almost depleted by countries such as the Soviet Union and Spain. The Government will establish an exclusive economic zone of 200 miles in order to acquire a firmer hold over the fisheries. The problem, however, is that the fish-processing industry is situated in the South African enclave of Walvis Bay. Walvis Bay is the only deep-sea port on the Namibian coast and is therefore of vital importance for developing the fisheries and the transit operations for imports and exports. Pretoria maintains ownership of Walvis Bay. Namibia, supported by the United Nations, disagrees.

Some white businessmen take a less sombre view of the Walvis Bay question. For example, one of them, Bob Meyring, argues that "Namibia lies alongside South Africa in a customs union. It therefore has the right to move its imports and exports via the enclave." This is, of course, quite different from operating a deep-sea port.

The Namibian Government is doing its utmost to fulfil the population's expectations: ministers travel throughout the land in order to see the problems for themselves and, when back in Windhoek, to discuss matters with the international delegations which have been scattered around the country. In the mean time, it has been decided that the South African rand will be maintained as the currency. It has also been decided that people living abroad who own large pieces of virgin land in Namibia may be subject to dispossession.

The Government's present task is to select the most favourable course for Namibia on the basis of all available advice and projects. "Independence by itself is meaningless," says Information Minister Kandetu. "Other countries can only show us the way to development, but Namibians must develop by themselves."

Rössing Mining Industry: Wonderful Benefactors in Namibia?

In the other mines of Namibia, where diamonds and copper are extracted on a large scale, only the men—contractual workers—are given housing. Women and children stay at home, mostly hundreds of kilometres from the mine. This does not apply in the case of Rössing. Any of the workers who so wishes can have his family join him. There is a sewing shop for women making overalls for the miners. There is also a primary school for youngsters, and older children are allowed to go to the established technical workshop where they learn carpentry, bricklaying or welding in six weeks.

The Foundation, in 1989, had a budget of 5.6 million guilders and, in 1990, it has somewhat less than 4 million guilders at its disposal. The contributions depend on the profits made, but, according to the experts, the contributions are not high for a mining enterprise of this size. This stems from the fact that capital costs are very high. For example, the trucks used for extracting uranium in the mine cost about 1 1/2 million guilders each.

One of Rössing's managers adds that in 1976, when the mine entered into operation, there was much discussion about independence. "You may also consider it as a kind of investment in the future, in order to ensure that the new Government would be favourably disposed towards us."

Housing in Namibia Still Administered under *Apartheid*

The latest residential district of Katutura, a black township near the Namibian capital of Windhoek, is called Hakahana, which means "shoot up" in the Herero language. "The people living there have given it this name because all the little houses are indeed shooting up out of the ground," says Brother Wouterus van de Hout. He comes originally from Tilburg, Holland, but has been living in Namibia for more than 30 years, five of which were spent in Katutura.

The black residential district, where, according to estimates, 80,000 people live, lies in its entirety on the edge of Windhoek. "I don't understand why they have done that," sighs Brother Wouterus, "but look now, the people here have no cars; no bus comes here; they must walk for 20 minutes till they reach public transportation". This is so because the houses in Hakahana are rooted criss-cross on rocky hills. "Can you imagine what that looks like in the rainy season?" asks Brother Wouterus. "That little stream over there, between the houses, becomes a river and carries everything away. And look, there are no doorsteps and so the water flows freely right into the low-lying houses."

The houses are not large; in Dutch terms they are small upgraded sheds of ten square metres, four walls with a roof, one tap and one toilet. Such a small house holds exactly one double bed and one bedstead, as described by a 20-year-old

woman. She lives there with her husband, her sister and her two-year-old daughter.

Her neighbour has an identical house, but she looks after six children who also sleep there. The room is too small. She has made an awning for her house, out of sticks and plastic under which there stands a rickety bench and some chairs. She also cooks outdoors over a wood fire. Near the house she grows mahango, a variety of sorghum, which is a traditional vegetable eaten widely in the north of Namibia. She confides that she pays a rent of 45 guilders a month, to which is added 30 guilders for water—there is no electricity—and a further 10.50 guilders for "street lighting". The municipality intends to have more 20-metre-high floodlights installed in the district.

The woman earns 150 guilders per month as a teacher in a hospital. She says that she can scarcely buy sufficient food with the money left over.

Hakahana is a few months old. The Windhoek municipality must build new houses because of the many refugees who returned from abroad after independence. The intention was for them to return to their old homes, but many returnees were left behind in Windhoek. No one knows precisely how many, but in Hakahana it is obvious that the need for housing is great. Between the houses stand traditional huts built of corrugated sheets used for housing by everybody. There were building materials in abundance. At the creation of the district, the municipality erected a brand-new clinic which was never opened. The corrugated-sheet roof fell off completely in one week and all the usable wood was gone. The clinic is a ruin.

The situation is somewhat better in the other districts of Katutura. Simon Manuel, 19, lives with his sister Christina, her children, one aunt and other family members in the old house of his parents in "Soweto". The district is named after the black residential town near Johannesburg where Nelson Mandela lives. The house has a kitchen—but the one and only cold-water tap is behind the garden—a living room and two bedrooms. There are beds in all rooms because nine people sleep there.

Christina's husband and parents are deceased, and she continues to live with her brother Simon and many others in the parental home. The monthly rent amounts to about 37.50 guilders. In addition, they must pay three guilders for the fence surrounding the house. Simon refuses to pay and the municipality has requested removal of the fence. Christina is the only person in the house with a paid job. She works six days a week as a chambermaid in one of the town's big hotels and earns 270 guilders per month. The hotel rooms are as large as Christina's house and cost about 150 guilders per night. Simon has had 12 years of education, but he has been unemployed since he left school, as is the case with many others in Katutura.

According to United Nations calculations, 30 per cent of the Namibian work-force is unemployed, but the percent-

age around Windhoek is much higher still. Most of the men have left Katutura to seek work in the mines. Brother Wouterus estimates that only 1 to 2 per cent of the families are not separated. "The women of Katutura are its mainstay," he points out. The women look for work in the town or hope to earn something "by taking in boarders". Accordingly, Christina's neighbour has two boarders who sleep in the garden under a lean-to. They pay her about 60 guilders per month. In the mean time, the municipality has announced that extra rent must be paid for the lean-to.

When the women have work to do, the children stay alone at home. There is no compulsory schooling in Namibia for black children and there are far too few schools. Many children therefore hang out in the streets. In recent times, more and more young people of around 14 years of age have been forming gangs of three or four, going out to steal. "The women are genuinely afraid at night, but they do not, of course, hurry to the police, because the police always stood on the side of South Africa," according to Wouterus. "For that situation to change, confidence will have to be restored."

Working conditions in the town are bad. The women earn little because 10 others are available at all times. SWAPO, the freedom movement which won the November elections and provided most of the ministers for the new Government, has now become a busy trade union for training women so that they can take joint action against their bosses.

Katutura, a black residential area with poor health facilities and virtually devoid of schools is a direct result of the South African *apartheid* administration. The SWAPO Government has eliminated *apartheid*, but the results are not yet apparent. The question arises as to whether the Government will be able, within a few years, to provide more roads, better houses, more schools and education, and good health facilities. For the time being, the ministers are taking stock of what has to be done, what has priority and how it is to be carried out. "We must reconcile somewhat the differences in living standards created by *apartheid*," says Ben Amathila, the Minister for Trade and Industry. "But that creates problems on both sides. The whites are holding onto what they have acquired, while the blacks expect far too much from us. If, however, we do not accomplish something, an alarming situation will arise."

Simon, long an active member of the SWAPO students' movement, gives the Government until 1991 to carry out changes. "But if nothing happens and the leaders living in the so-called 'fancy area' of Little Windhoek do not take action in our interest, we shall become anarchists and we shall change the Government," he continues.

Simon finds it logical that the ministers should live in Little Windhoek. "They must have fancy houses because they are now in power and have to receive many foreigners," he points out. On the other hand, he earnestly believes in the socialism that is also advocated by SWAPO. The events in Eastern Europe have changed nothing there. "The people there have ruined socialism, but we shall raise a socialist family."

Namibia is Left in the Lurch; Bushmen Soldiers are Foisted Off

"In the north of Namibia, close to the frontier with Angola, there are still bushmen in camps who fought for the South African army," reported Netherlands nurse Toos van Helvoort in Windhoek. He works in northern Namibia and at the same time helps to organize health care.

The South African army began some 10 years ago to recruit Namibian bushmen, according to Kaire Mbuende, the Deputy Minister for Agriculture of Namibia. South Africa wanted them eagerly because they knew the land "and because they are the best scouts," says Mbuende. The 800 soldiers forming the so-called "Bushmen Battalion" were sent into action by Pretoria against the SWAPO freedom movement, which had been fighting for over 20 years for Namibia's independence.

When Namibia gained its independence under a Government of preponderantly SWAPO Ministers, South Africa promised the former soldiers that it would look after them. The South African newspaper *Business Day* reported on Friday that Pretoria, early in March, had transferred 500 bushmen soldiers with their families, at their request, to Schmidtsdrift in the South African Cape Province.

In the Omega army camp on the Caprivi Strip, however, about 300 soldiers and approximately 1,300 family members have been left behind. Dr. Nicky Iyambo, the Namibian Minister for Health, who visited the camp the previous week, stated in *The Namibian* that a total of 4,500 people were dependent on the earnings of the bushmen soldiers.

The bushmen, however, have no money. The South African Administrator-General told the ex-soldiers immediately prior to their departure that their pay would be given to them by February of the following year. "[The South Africans] promised that they would above all ensure that the people present would be able to stay there," Dr. Iyambo recalls. When February came, the soldiers were given double pay, and since then they have received nothing.

"It is a great problem for the Namibian Government," says Mr. Mbuende with a sigh. "Helping the bushmen is in keeping with the policy of national reconciliation, but it actually encompasses soldiers who fought against us. We have too little money for solving the problems of the rest of the population." In each case Windhoek has decided to alleviate the most pressing need. Last week they sent 7 tonnes of food to Caprivi, and the Government has asked the United Nations World Food Programme for further assistance.

Dr. Iyambo announced that Namibia will discuss this matter as soon as possible with South Africa. Meanwhile, earnest efforts are being made to find solutions, "because

the bushmen are Namibians and the Government is for all Namibians," says Mr. Mbuende. The bushmen have made it known that they want to be moved near to the Bagani district in Caprivi, where they can work on an agricultural project. Many of them have had enough of the war and want an ordinary way of life, states *The Namibian*. In that connection, references are sometimes made to the time when South Africa was still governing Namibia. "They have said that they should come back again," a bushman hopefully remarks.

Above All, Namibia Now Wants to Break Loose from South Africa

The Minister for Development Co-operation announced on Monday that Namibia, which had not been standing on its own legs for as long as two months, could count on help from the Netherlands. It is not yet known what shape this help will take, nor to what sectors it will be directed, but the Netherlands will, in any case, make a contribution to the independence of that African country.

The Netherlands is not the only country that will help Namibia along the right path. The brand-new Government in Windhoek, consisting largely of members of the former freedom movement, SWAPO, has been inundated in recent weeks by delegations from well-intentioned Governments and donor organizations.

While the ministers, many of whom have been residing abroad in exile for many years, are desperately trying to make a survey of the country's real needs, "policy priorities" are being formulated and proposed projects are being identified at different levels.

The International Monetary Fund delegation, during its visit in April, firmly stipulated that Namibia must pay the debt of 700 million rand (about 525 million guilders) which South Africa accumulated during its occupation of Namibia.

Although, according to the international rules of law on the subject of the succession of States, a new State is not bound to take over the debts of the previous authorities, the Namibian Prime Minister, Hage Geingob, explained at the beginning of May rather overemphatically that an investigation would be undertaken as to where the money borrowed was used. "Since most of the money was allocated for the war, I don't see why we should pay the piper," he remarked.

In principle, however, Namibia will surely pay. "We want to be seen internationally as creditworthy and trustworthy," remarked Mr. Geingob, "and we want to be a good neighbour of South Africa. That must happen on both sides." A good "working relationship" with the previous occupier is literally of vital importance for Windhoek. Under the *apartheid* régime administered by Pretoria in Namibia, the country produced few goods, and what it produces now goes primarily to South Africa.

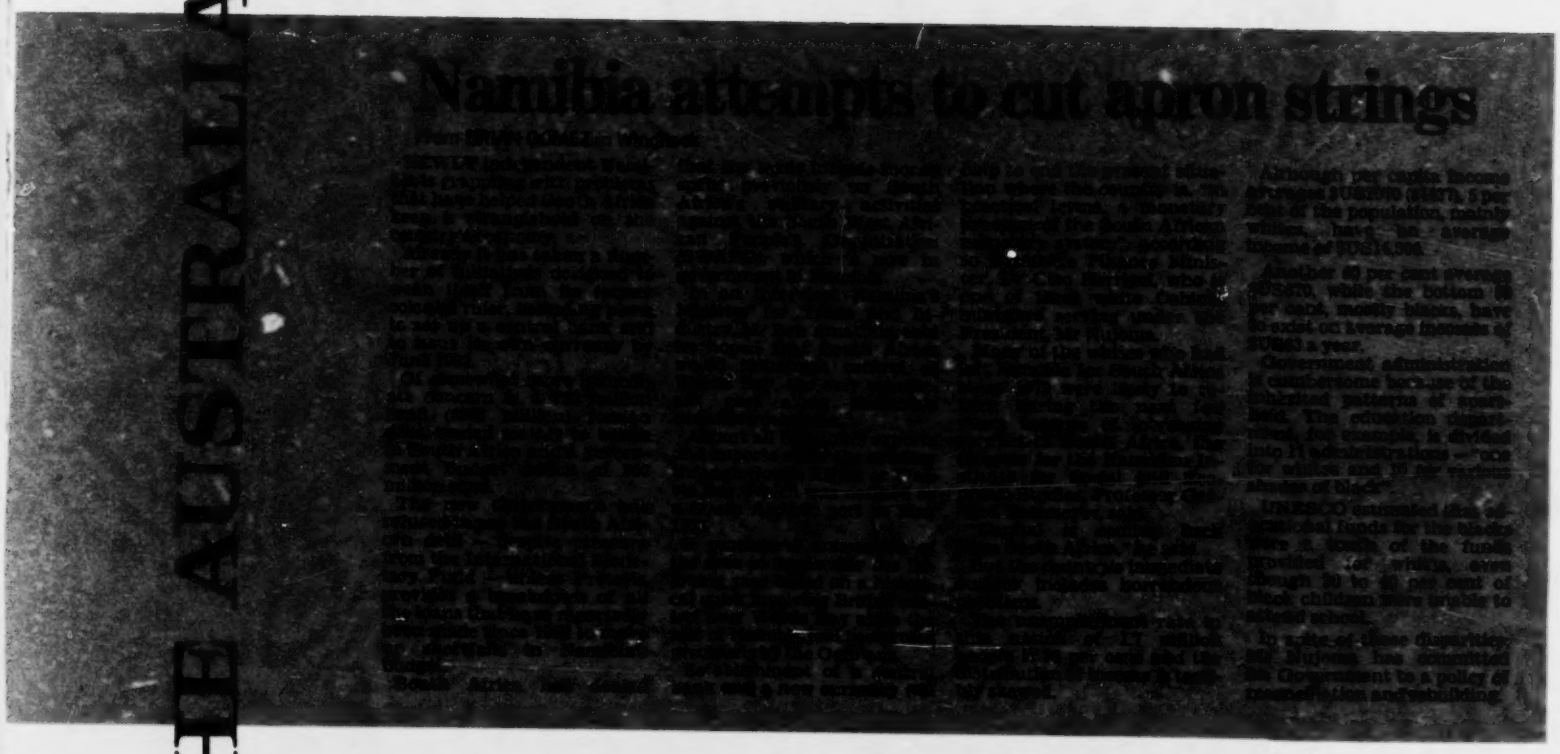
Everything in Namibia centres around the need to eliminate the disastrous consequences of *apartheid* and around the efforts to become less dependent on South Africa. Ben Amathila, the Minister for Trade and Industry, explains in carefully chosen words how the relationship with the powerful neighbouring country appears. "Our country has sufficient potential of its own, but we are now still heavily dependent on South Africa. We must reduce this to a minimum. Independence is, however, built up over a very long period and it is practically impossible to change that in one go."

Meanwhile Namibia, in its own way, is making a contribution to the fight against *apartheid*. "We want to develop another model State in order to show South Africa that its model is antiquated," says Mr. Amathila. "We thus let it be seen that *apartheid* can be discarded. In this way we, the people striving for reforms in South Africa, can put our hearts into the endeavour. At the present time the international community cannot demand any more from us," he added.

He emphasized once again that, in spite of all the economic potential at Namibia's disposal, the country at this time needs international assistance. "We are in a bad way; there are people here who are dying of hunger." Namibia, however, wants to confine itself to the kind of assistance that it really needs. "We don't want any handouts," says Hage Geingob. "We want help in order to establish a tolerable basis for development that will still be available when help from outside comes to an end. These values are worthless so long as the majority of the people do not participate in the material welfare of this land," he concludes.

AUSTRALIA

THE AUSTRALIAN



Namibia attempts to cut apron strings

NAMIBIA ATTEMPTS TO CUT APRON STRINGS

by Brian Gomez

Newly independent Namibia is grappling with problems that have helped South Africa keep a stranglehold on the country's economy.

Already it has taken a number of initiatives designed to wean itself from its former colonial ruler, including plans to set up a central bank and to issue its own currency by June 1992.

Of somewhat more immediate concern is a 700-million-rand ($A 268 million) foreign debt, owned mainly to banks in South Africa, and a government budget deficit of 500 million rand.

The new Government has refused to pay the South African debt—despite pressure from the International Monetary Fund—unless Pretoria provides a breakdown of all the loans that have reportedly been made since 1982 to make up shortfalls in Namibia's budget.

South Africa has denied that the loans include money spent previously on South Africa's military activities against the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), which is now in government in Namibia.

In an interview, Namibia's Minister for Trade and Industry, Mr. Ben Amathila, said he hoped that South Africa would relinquish control of Walvis Bay, the only significant port along Namibia's extensive coastline.

Almost all Namibia's exports and imports enter the country through South Africa or Walvis Bay, which was defined as a South African port in May 1976.

It proclaimed annexation of the area in September the following year, based on a historical quirk involving British control over Walvis Bay while the rest of Namibia had been ruled previously by the Germans.

Establishment of a central bank and a new currency will help to end the present situation where the country is, "in practical terms, a monetary province of the South African monetary system", according to Namibia's Finance Minister, Dr. Otto Herrigel, who is one of three white Cabinet ministers serving under the President, Mr. Nujoma.

Many of the whites who had left Namibia for South Africa since 1979 were likely to return during the next few years because of increasing conflict in South Africa, the Director of the Namibian Institute for Social and Economic Studies, Professor Gerhard Tötemeyer, said.

"Capital is coming back from South Africa", he said.

But the country's immediate outlook includes horrendous problems.

The unemployment rate in this nation of 1.7 million people is 30 per cent and the distribution of income is terribly skewed.

Although per capita income averages $US 1,070 ($A 1,437), 5 per cent of the population, mainly whites, have an average income of $US 14,500.

Another 40 per cent average $US 670, while the bottom 55 per cent, mostly blacks, have to exist on average incomes of $US 63 a year.

Government administration is cumbersome because of the inherited patterns of *apartheid*. The education department, for example, is divided into 11 administrations—"one for whites and 10 for various shades of black".

UNESCO estimated that educational funds for the blacks were a tenth of the funds provided for whites, even though 30 to 40 per cent of black children were unable to attend school.

In spite of these disparities, Mr. Nujoma has committed his Government to a policy of reconciliation and rebuilding.

Namibia profits in spite of sanctions

From BRIAN GOMEZ in Windhoek

NAMIBIA'S big Rossing uranium mine, operated and 46.5 per cent owned by Britain's RTZ Corp, is operating profitably at 80 per cent of its 5000-tonne-a-year uranium oxide capacity.

Although world spot uranium prices have dropped to a low of $US8.50 ($11.30) a pound compared with a peak of $US43 a pound in 1978 — two years after mining started — the mine has long-term supply contracts at much higher prices.

Visiting international journalists were told that none of the mine's output was sold on the depressed spot market.

Under the South African Atomic Energy Act, the company is barred from disclosing information on its contracts — consuming countries have had to breach sanctions against trading with South Africa to buy Rossing uranium.

It is understood the main customers are utilities in Britain, France and West Germany.

With Namibia's independence, the company hopes to broaden its marketing thrust, especially to include the United States.

The mine, which may not have got off the ground had Australia's high-grade deposits begun development early in the 1970s, is one of two Namibian mining operations which each contribute about 30 per cent of the country's export earnings.

It has a further life of at least 30 years, by which time the open pit will be five kilometres long and 500 metres deep.

The country's other big export contributor, the South African De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd-owned CDM (Pty) Ltd, by contrast, only has a reported life of 10 to 12 years.

The mine, which observers believe reflects the previous apartheid structure even more than the Rossing operation, produces and exports close to one million carats of gem-quality diamonds a year.

Even though two new diamond mines are to start up by next year, these will only help to maintain production at present levels while enabling the South African-controlled group to keep its diamond mining going another 10 to 12 years.

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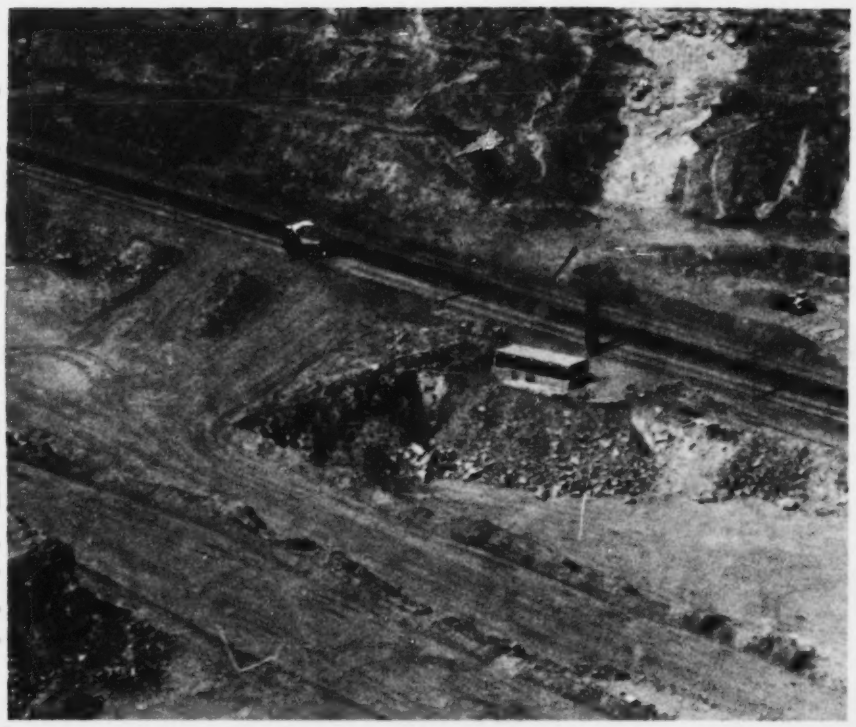

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NAMIBIA PROFITS IN SPITE OF SANCTIONS

by Brian Gomez

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Even though two new diamond mines are to start up by next year, these will only help to maintain production at present levels while enabling the South African-controlled group to keep its diamond mining going for another 10 to 12 years.

The first of these mines will start in the second half of this year at Auchas, on the north bank of the Orange River. The 90 million rand ($A 25 million) operation will produce an average of 43,500 carats in the next 10 years.

The second mine, at Elizabeth Bay, 30 kilometres south of the town of Lüderitz, is being built at a cost of R 135 million. It will start in mid-1991 and is expected to produce about 250,000 carats a year for about 10 years.

Although CDM controls a huge strip of coastal territory in the southern part of the country, the company is looking to mining of the sea-bed at water depths of more than 100 metres.

This year the company will spend R 55 million to prospect in deep-water areas and to carry out research into mining technology that can be used in a unique operation of this nature.

If the programme is a success, the company's 55-year-old diamond operations should continue well into the next century.

Meanwhile, a meeting of the country's mineworkers' union has called on the mining sector to abandon the *apartheid* structure and to greatly improve the labour terms and conditions of mine workers.

The larger mines tend to pay a minimum wage of about R 600 a month, but this does not apply to contract workers.

The General Secretary of the union, Mr. Ben Ulenga, told *The Australian* that union information indicated 90 per cent of employees at one big mine were earning less than R 450 a month.

Smaller mines paid very low wages—as little as R 77 a month.

UNITED KINGDOM

BBC

RADIO

Namibia

by Jonathan Bloom

John Roberts (presenter) introduces: Namibia, which earlier this year gained its independence from South Africa, has applied to join the IMF and World Bank. That is normally the precursor to seeking soft loans, and a meeting this week-end at the United Nations in New York will allocate foreign aid to the country. But does Namibia need or want foreign aid? Jonathan Bloom has visited the country to find out.

SWAPO Pioneers sing and dance to celebrate their country winning the war for its independence from South Africa. But Namibia must now face the problems left behind: health, education, agriculture and industry are all heavily biased towards the minority white community. For instance, just two foreign-owned mines account for nearly a third of the whole economy and their senior employees are overwhelmingly white. This week-end's conference is designed to supply the foreign aid which will help to reverse this kind of imbalance, but there are those who say that the country should stand on its own two feet. Professor Tjingaete is head of the Department of Economics at Windhoek University.

Professor Tjingaete: We are a young nation just become independent. In fact I am saying that we should be extremely careful about development aid, we should be extremely selective, we should not develop straight from day one a beggar mentality. We should try to do the things, or certain things, that are necessary for development on our own strength and only when we really cannot go further, then perhaps rely on some development aid.

But the Government disagrees. Although it is fearful of ending up like many other African countries dependent on foreign aid, it is looking for help in the simplest of areas. It wants teachers, better crops, cheap housing and more jobs for black people. Hage Geingob is the Namibian Prime Minister.

Hage Geingob: Initially we will need some foreign aid; we should be able eventually to depend on our own resources, but initially we need some aid. We have problems of unemployment, we have problems of housing, we have problems of food. We want to go for basic stuff.

The problem for Namibia is how to maintain its economy while removing the inequalities of the past, without overdependence on foreign aid. It is a balancing act which many third world countries have failed to achieve, but if it succeeds it could have great significance, for the problems it is facing now are much the same as those likely to face South Africa if and when it introduces majority rule.

SINGAPORE

Appeared in the Business News

JUN 15 1990

DISMANTLING *APARTHEID'S* EDIFICE IN NAMIBIA

by Brian Gomez

Independent Namibia's agenda is daunting. But optimism and investment opportunities are not lacking, as former Business Times journalist Brian Gomez discovered on a recent visit. Rich Mkhondo adds his view that economic prospects are bright in the new nation.

Newly independent Namibia can evoke optimism just as easily as pessimism over its political future in the post-*apartheid* era.

The new leadership under President Sam Nujoma exudes cheerfulness and confidence. And despite having come from years in exile, the transition from being a guerrilla-led movement to national leadership has occurred very smoothly.

Returning to the capital, Windhoek, has been quite a shock for many people who spent the last two decades in exile in neighbouring Angola and elsewhere.

"When we left, Windhoek was only a village. Today it is a mini-New York or London" is reportedly an oft-heard view.

Although the Germans colonized what was South West Africa shortly before the turn of the 19th century and ruled for only 31 years, they have left an undeniable imprint on Windhoek, a city of 150,000 people where German is still one of the languages widely spoken.

In spite of the vast distances in a country about two and a half times the size of Malaysia and a population only two thirds that of Singapore (an estimated 1.7 million), Namibia boasts an exceptionally good infrastructure with excellent highways, telecommunications and water and power supply.

Windhoek is a city at peace with itself. Several multi-storey buildings are nearing completion off Kaiser Street, the main thoroughfare, and construction is running at record levels.

But there is also a bleak side to this picture. Scratch beneath the surface and a plethora of problems emerge, bringing a sense of urgency to UN efforts to promote aid and investment.

The colonial forces that have welded together the Namibian economy—the country first became a German colony in 1884 but was forcibly taken over by South Africa in 1915—have left behind social problems that can explode into violence.

Unemployment is running at around 40 per cent, with one out of two adults expected to be out of work by the end of the decade. Petty crime is already on the increase and Namibia's Trade and Industry Minister, Ben Amathila, has warned: "When hungry stomachs can't feed themselves, they do all kinds of things."

Independence has brought with it greatly rising expectations. Namibia enjoys a per capita income of just over $US 1,000 to rank among the better-off countries categorized as "middle-income" in the third world.

But this disguises the fact that 5 per cent of the population enjoy per capita income of $US 14,000—somewhat more than the average Australian—while the mass of the Namibian population (55 per cent) have to subsist on $US 63 a year. Per capita income for the remainder is $US 670, or about the same level as per capita income in Indonesia.

The country's two big mining companies—one mining uranium and the other high-quality gem diamonds—pay their black employees a minimum wage of just over 600 rand (about $S 450) a month.

But the General Secretary of the Mineworkers Union of Namibia, Ben Ulenga, said contract workers at the South African De Beers-owned diamond operations and elsewhere sometimes receive as little as 70 rand a month. "These are starvation wages", he said.

"Many of the keystones of the *apartheid* edifice are still in place in this country", said Mr. Hamutenya, the Information Minister.

Last year the Government spent 2,000 rand ($S 1,500) per head on white schools compared with 300 rand on black schools, where 80 per cent of the teachers were unqualified or underqualified. Education, said Mr. Angula, the Minister of Education, "was the central theatre of *apartheid*'s onslaught."

"The managers of the old order", said Mr. Hamutenya, "understood very well that knowledge is power, and as such, they made sure to systematically excude blacks from formal and professional education."

A clear pointer to poverty in the countryside is the fact that while 70 per cent of the population are employed in agriculture, this sector only accounts for 10 per cent of GDP.

"Crop production was kept underdeveloped as part of the South African strategy to keep it (Namibia) a captive market", said Kaire Mbuenda, Deputy Minister for Agriculture, Fisheries, Water and Rural Development.

Despite the generally bleak picture of socio-economic conditions, there is a great deal of optimism about the future.

Britain's RTZ Corporation, a major shareholder in the big Rössing Uranium mine, set up a foundation in 1979 to help tackle some of the country's problems through use of a small part of its profits for education and training programmes.

A small experimental agricultural farm set up by the foundation of Oshakati, in the depressed northern region, is already helping local farmers to double their output of pearl millet (mahango), after just a year spent in developing better seeds.

And the wives of black miners at the Rössing company town of Arandis have set up a factory to make industrial clothing, winning sales totalling 1.6 million rand last year.

Another project in the coastal town of Lüderitz provides local people with maritime training, an area of great potential since experts believe the Benguela current system can provide a sustainable annual yield of 3 million tonnes of fish.

The country also has potential for further development of minerals such as tin, copper, mineral sands and other metals, and a number of companies have begun searching for oil.

A well-known local geological consultant, Ernest Mille who has a data bank of every known surface minera discovery, said the Zambian copper belt actually extende from the town of Reheboth, south of Windhoek, across th border through Botswana and into Zambia.

Among the optimists is 38-year-old Professor Fanu Tjingaete of the economics department at the country's onl university and a recently appointed director of a Lüderitz based company owned by Spain's Pescanova, Westerr Europe's biggest fishing company.

The town is the centre of a crayfish, lobster and seawee export industry.

"There are real opportunities to make this country a rea success story in Africa", Prof. Tjingaete said, while notin the dismal economic record throughout Africa. "The in frastructure exists in an advanced form and we can prope ourselves to greater heights", he said.

UN CONFERENCE TO PROMOTE AID TO NAMIBIA

by Brian Gomez

The United Nations will convene an international donors' conference in New York on June 21 and 22 to promote the flow of development aid to Namibia.

UN officals are hopeful that a co-ordinated international aid effort will follow the highly successful international peace-keeping role played by 109 countries which helped Namibia gain independence from South Africa on March 21. Aid is badly needed to help repair the ravages of *apartheid*.

But optimism is not high given the reported onset of "aid fatigue" on the part of the most generous European nations, which have seen hundreds of millions of dollars of aid swallowed up in Africa with almost no improvement in living standards over the past three decades.

Much of the Western world is also taken up by the changes in Eastern Europe.

"We expect negative consequences", admitted Namibia's Minister for Information, Hidipo Hamutenya. "The US is promising massive help in Poland and other countries, 100 times what they are giving us."

Without an adequate flow of aid and investment, the currently peaceful situation could easily turn violent, given the vast gaps between the mainly white urban rich and poor blacks and the depressing conditions facing the more heavily populated northernmost Ovamboland region, where half of the 1.7 million population lives.

FED. REP. OF GERMANY

Appeared in Frankfurter Rundschau

Auf dem steinigen Weg zum „Stern im Kosmos Afrikas"

Finanzprobleme, Arbeitslosigkeit und Schwierigkeiten mit der Versöhnung im Land: Afrikas jüngster Staat Namibia

Von Brigitte Kols

Blut sichert in den Boden, der mit Abfällen aller Art durchsetzt ist. Die Ziege zeckt nicht mehr. Zwei junge Männer trennen ihr mit langen Messern die Haut ab. Das nächste Opfer liegt schon mit gefesselten Füßen auf dem Boden und sieht, den Hals weit nach vorn gereckt, der Fremder zu, bevor es dasselbe Schicksal ereilt. Es ist Wochenende in Katutura, der Schwarzensiedlung von Windhuk, und im „Single-Quarter", jener „wilden Gegend" des township, die ursprünglich nur Männer bewohnen sollten, drängen sich Frauen, Kinder, Hunde, Händler, Spieler, wedeln mit 50-Rand-Scheinen, die sei dies nicht ein großer Teil ihres Monatseinkommens, wenn sie denn überhaupt Einkommen haben.

Namibias Freiheit ist noch jung. Die Unabhängigkeit der letzten Kolonie Afrikas zählt erst nach Wochen. So sind Spuren rasches Wandels rar. An den Straßen hocken sie noch immer, junge Männer, die auf einen Job warten, der sie über den Tag bringt. An denselben Straßen verheißen Plakate ein besseres Leben. Schwarze Kinder halten die Faust und nehmen dabei ein weißes Mädchen in ihre Mitte. „Unsere freie Nation Namibia" verkündet der Schriftzug über der neuen Nationalflagge mit der Sonne in der oberen Ecke. Als sie zum ersten Mal aufgezogen wurde im Stadion von Windhuk am 21. März dieses Jahres, da ejnte die Namibier aller Hautfarben die Überzeugung, „daß sie die schönste der Welt ist", wie ein deutschsprachiger Bewohner des Landes schwärmt.

Schöne Worte finden in diesen Tagen viele der Afrikas jüngsten Staat. So breitete der Nigerianer Edmund Omatsoe, einer der Vertreter des Entwicklungsprogramms der Vereinten Nationen (UNDP) in Namibia, zwar eine Stunde lang vor einer Gruppe internationaler Journalisten die gewaltigen Probleme aus, die der jungen Nation ins Haus stehen. Dann aber schließt er mit dem poetischen Satz: „Namibia hat die Chance, ein leuchtender Stern im Kosmos Afrikas zu werden." Eine UN-Konferenz der Geberländer Mitte Juni in New York könnte entscheidend dafür sein, wie groß diese Chance wirklich ist. Namibia sitzt finanziell schon jetzt in der Klemme, mußte es doch mit einem Haushaltsdefizit von 500 Millionen Rand und 500 Millionen Rand Schulden bei Südafrika, der Kolonialmacht von gestern, in die Freiheit starten. Wenig Spielraum, um Träume zu erfüllen, sicher nicht genug, die größten Hypotheken des Kolonial- und Apartheidsystems auch abzutragen: Eine ungerechte Verteilung von Armut und Reichtum, Grund und Boden, medizinischer Versorgung, aber auch Bildung — nämlich entlang der Rassengrenzen — und eine starke wirtschaftliche Abhängigkeit von Südafrika.

Handelsminister Ben Amathila macht sich wenig Illusionen: „Wir haben die politische Unabhängigkeit erreicht, aber der Kampf um die ökonomische Unabhängigkeit wird lang und schwer werden." Dies um so mehr, als Namibias Unabhängigkeit „20 Jahre zu spät" kommt, um bei der internationalen Gemeinschaft noch „viel abzusahnen", wie ein deutscher Experte meint. Die Rundesrepublik ist 1990 aus „historischen Gründen" mit 100 Millionen Mark noch groß eingestiegen. Daß aus Bonn angesichts der deutschen Vereinigungsprobleme weiter soviel Geld fließt, bezweifeln Mitglieder der neuen Regierung in Windhuk. „Negative Effekte" der Entwicklung im Ostblock sieht denn auch Informationsminister Hidipo Hamutenya voraus. Für die USA zum Beispiel sei Polen wichtiger. Selbst der neuen Regierung in Nicaragua habe Washington 100 Millionen Dollar versprochen, Namibia aber nur zehn. Hamutenya: „Wenn Sie das vergleichen, erzählt es eine Geschichte."

Axel Halbach, Koordinator einer umfassenden Studie des Münchner Ifo-Instituts für Wirtschaftsforschung im Auftrag des Bonner Entwicklungshilfeministeriums kommt zu dem Schluß, daß Namibia die befürchtete Überschwemmung mit Entwicklungshilfe wohl erspart bleiben wird. Eher schon drohe es noch der Unabhängigkeit rasch in Vergessenheit zu geraten, zumal es mit einem Pro-Kopf-Einkommen von 1200 US-Dollar zu den „reichsten Ländern" Afrikas südlich der Sahara zählt. Die Zahl führt in die Irre, versteckt sich hinter ihr doch das ganze Ausmaß der Ungleichheit. Die fünf Prozent der Weißen sind es, die mit ein jährliches Einkommen von rund 14000 US-Dollar zählen können, während weitere 40 Prozent der Namibier nur 870 Dollar erreichen und die Mehrheit von 55 Prozent (hauptsächlich Schwarze) mit ganzen 63 Dollar ihr Leben fristet.

Watuna Löcheln ist so leicht ein seine Stimme. In der Bundesrepublik, in Hamburg und Köln, hat er Elektronik studiert. Erst vor einigen Monaten kehrte er heim nach Katutura. Das Diplom, das er mitbrachte, ist ein Stück Papier geblieben, denn Arbeit fand er damit bisher nicht. 40000 Menschen sind aus dem Exil in aller Welt zurückgekehrt, in der Hoffnung auf den Lohn der Freiheit. Viele stehen nun in Ministerien und Behörden um Arbeit an. Aber die Chancen sind schlecht, denn der öffentliche Dienst ist mit mehr als 50000 Beschäftigten (die Südafrikaner unterhielten elf verschiedene ethnisch geprägte Verwaltungen) schon aufgeblüht genug für ein Land mit nur 1,7 Millionen Einwohnern.

Watuna zeigt um die Kinder, die auf Straßen durch Katutura Flaschen sammeln, um Pfand zu kassieren, als sage dies allein schon genug über die Zukunftschancen. Katutura, dessen Name

> *„Viele SWAPO-Mitglieder sind nicht einverstanden mit unserer Versöhnungspolitik, besonders jene, die im Exil waren. Aber sogar Leute, die für Südafrika gekämpft haben, sind Namibier. Wir können sie nicht ins Meer werfen."*

„Kein Platz zum Bleiben" bedeutet, hat in den letzten Monaten Flüchtlingstrecks neuer Art angezogen, vor allem aus der einstigen Kriegszone, dem Ovambolande im Norden. Der 23 Jahre dauernde Buschkrieg gegen Südafrika brachte den Menschen dort Tod und (absurd genug) Leben zugleich, blieb doch etwas von dem Lohn der Soldaten und Polizisten bei ihnen hängen — zum Beispiel in den schlichten kleinen Kneipen und Getränkebuden entlang der Hauptstraße in den äußersten Norden. Für kurze Zeit kannten nach dem Abzug der Südafrikaner die UN-Überwacher der Unabhängigkeit die Lücke füllen. Nun ist auch diese Einnahmequelle versiegt.

In den vergangenen neun Monaten, so weiß Gerhard Tötemeyer, deutschsprachiger Direktor des „Institutes für soziale und ökonomische Studien" in Windhuk, ist die Einwohnerzahl der Hauptstadt um 30000 gestiegen. Bis zum Ende des Jahres, so glauben Experten, wird sie sich verdoppelt haben. Schon jetzt aber ist die Arbeitslosigkeit im township auf über 50 Prozent geklettert. In ganz Namibia liegt sie bei 40 Prozent. Genug sozialer Sprengstoff für das neuen Staat und eine ernste Gefahr für das ehrgeizige Ziel des Präsidenten Sam Nujoma, Namibia zur „ersten Erfolgsstory in Afrika" zu machen. Noch gibt es zwar in Katutura keine Slums von Nairobischen Ausmaßen, „nur einzelne Shantias", Elendshütten. Doch viele Familien, die ein Dach über dem Kopf haben, nutzen die Räume in Schichten: Der eine Teil arbeitet, während der andere schläft und umgekehrt.

Watuna, dessen Frau und Kinder noch in Deutschland leben, wohnt nicht im Slum, sondern im komfortablen Haus seines Bruders. Die aufwendige Musikanlage sticht im Wohnraum sofort ins Auge. Die Vergrößerung eines Fotos der französischen Alpen dient als Wandschmuck. Für den 28 Jahre alten Elektronik-Ingenieur, der an der Produktion der deutschen Fernsehserie „Schwarzwald-Klinik" mitgewirkt hat, nur eine vorübergehende Bleibe, so hofft er noch. „Wir, die wir aus dem Exil zurückgekehrt sind, wir wollen Geld, wir wollen Arbeit. Unsere Erwartungen sind so hoch, daß sie kaum erfüllt werden können", gesteht er in seinem fast makellosen Deutsch ein. Der einzigen Job, der ihm für magere 250 Rand angeboten wurde („als Waschbau verdient man hier 60"), hat er stolz abgelehnt. Seine Familie, seine Eltern müssen er ernähren, „das Loch der zehn Jahre füllen, in denen ich fort war und studierte". Wie sollen Vater und Mutter verstehen, daß er auch so langer Zeit mit leeren Händen zurückkommt. Dabei besitzt er, was der Mehrzahl der schwarzen Namibier vorenthalten wurde: Bildung. 65 Prozent seiner Landsleute sind Analphabeten.

Wenn es der Regierung nicht gelingt, Stabilität herzustellen, so sieht Professor Tötemeyer schwarz in die Zukunft, werde es in spätestens drei Jahren zu „sozialen und politischen Unruhen kommen". Viele der jungen Schwarzen sind aufgebracht über das Konzept der Versöhnung, das die SWAPO-Regierung propagiert, weil es auch jene einbezieht, die dem alten südafrikanischen Regime ergeben dienten und nun Posten in Ministerien, Ämtern und Behörden weiter besetzt halten. Moses Garoeb, Vorsitzender der regierenden SWAPO-Partei, ärgert sich über die sanfte Linie: „Wir haben nicht gekämpft, um den status quo zu erhalten." Die Versöhnung sei „zu weit gegangen", wenn SWAPO nun vor den Vertretern des alten Regimes „krieche wie ein Hund".

Einen Stillstand der Verwaltung, wenn jetzt die alten Beamten gefeuert würden, befürchtet dagegen Bergbauminister Andimbo Taiwo ya Taiwo, viele Jahre auf Robben Island in südafrikanischer Gefangenschaft. Überraschend wirkt seine Feststellung: „Viele SWAPO-Mitglieder sind nicht einverstanden mit unserer Versöhnungspolitik, besonders jene, die im Exil waren. Aber sogar solche Leute, die für Südafrika gekämpft haben, sind Namibier. Wir können sie nicht ins Meer werfen. Wir müssen unser Volk diese Haltung lehren." Die meisten erwarteten, so rügt der aber ungeduldige, daß nach der Unabhängigkeit „alles wie Manna vom Himmel fällt, aber das passiert nicht".

Das gilt vor allem für Arbeitsplätze. Der Arbeitslosigkeit, so versprach Präsident Sam Nujoma kürzlich bei der mäßig besuchten Maifeier, will die neue Regierung die „erste Frühlingsfrucht" einräumen. Professor Fanuel Tjingaete, der in Berlin studiert hat und heute Dekan der Wirtschaftswissenschaftlichen Fakultät der Universität Windhuk ist, hält die Arbeitslosenzahl nach ihrer eine Größenordnung, mit der Namibia fertigwerden kann. Das Potential, so glaubt er, „ist da, um die Dinge ins Laufen zu bringen, wenn die Politiker vernünftig bleiben".

Bergbau, Landwirtschaft und Fischfang sind die drei Beine, auf denen Namibias Wirtschaft steht. Die wenigsten Menschen beschäftigt mit nur 3,7 Prozent der von ausländischen Konzernen beherrschte Bergbau, die meisten mehr als 70 Prozent, leben und arbeiten in der Landwirtschaft. In diesem Bereich will die Regierung vorrangig Geld stecken. „Kavango, Caprivi und Otumbo sind in der Lage, genug Nahrung für unsere Bevölkerung zu produzieren", meint Vice-Landwirtschaftsminister Kairo Mbanda. Künftig soll kein Rind mehr ungeschlachtet das Land Richtung Südafrika verlassen, und die Fische, jährlich von 14 ausländischen Flotten regelrecht weggestohlen, will Namibia jetzt selbst in Bozen und auf Eis legen.

Weit draußen hinter den alten deutschen Freunden von Lüderitz, in den townships Benguela und Nautilus, wohin sich Touristen kaum verirren, sind Armut und Arbeitslosigkeit zu Hause. Viele Schwarze haben überhaupt kein Dach über dem Kopf. Nicht selten leben 15 Kontrakt- oder Saisonarbeiter in einem Raum. Zerlumpte Kinder und Erwachsene, in Namibia ein seltenes Bild, sind auf den Straßen zu sehen. Die Arbeitslosenrate liegt bei 60 Prozent und höher. Die SWAPO-Frauen haben kürzlich eine Suppenküche aufgemacht, um dem ärgsten Hunger abzuhelfen, berichtet die 20jährige Bildungssekretärin der Gewerkschaft für die Nahrungsmittelindustrie, Magdalene Ipanja. Ihre Gewerkschaft hat mit

JUN 07 1990

ON THE ROCKY ROAD TO THE "STAR IN AFRICA'S UNIVERSE"

Financial problems, unemployment and difficulties with reconciliation in Namibia, Africa's newest State

by Brigitte Kula

Blood trickles into the ground, which is strewn with refuse of all sorts. The goat stops twitching. Two young men skin it with long knives. The next victim is already lying on the ground, feet trussed and watching the procedure, its neck stretched far forward, before it suffers the same fate. It is the week-end in Katutura, the black township of Windhoek, and in the "single quarter"—that "rough area" of the township where only men are supposed to live—women, children, prostitutes and dealers all throng together. Players brandish 50-rand notes as if these did not represent a major portion of their monthly income, if they indeed have any income.

Namibia's freedom is still new. The independence of Africa's last colony is only weeks old. So indications of rapid change are rare. Young men still squat in the streets, waiting for a job to get them through the day. On the same streets, posters promise a better life: black children clench their fists, but with a white girl in their midst; the script over the new national flag with the sun in the top corner proclaims, "Our free nation of Namibia". When the flag was hoisted for the first time in the Windhoek stadium this past 21 March, Namibians of all colours agreed that it was "the most beautiful in the world", as a German-speaking member of the population enthused.

These days there are many who find fine words for Africa's newest State. Nigerian Edward Omotoso, a representative of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in Namibia, spends a full hour explaining the enormous problems facing the young nation to a group of international journalists. But he closes with the poetical sentence: "Namibia has the chance to become a bright star in Africa's universe". A United Nations conference of donor countries in New York in mid-June could be decisive in determining how big this chance really is. Namibia is already in a financial mess, having had to start its life as a free nation with a budget deficit of 500 million rand and debts of 800 million rand to South Africa, the former colonial Power. Little room to fulfil dreams, and certainly not enough for a quick removal of the main burdens of the colonial *apartheid* system: an unfair distribution of poverty and wealth, land and soil, medical care and education, too—right along racial lines—together with heavy economic dependence on South Africa.

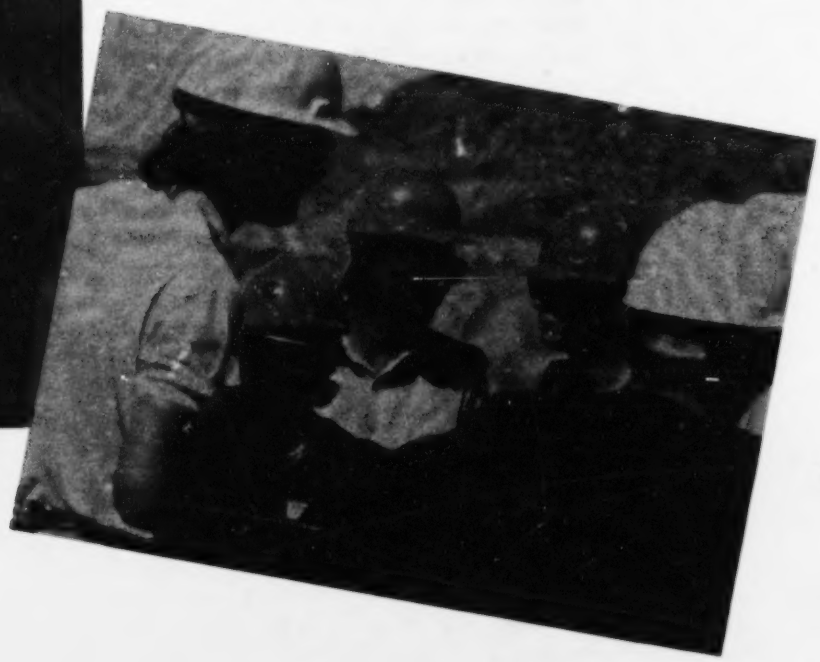
Trade Minister Ben Amathila has few illusions: "We have achieved political independence, but the struggle for economic independence will be long and hard." All the more so because Namibia's independence comes "20 years too late" for it to—as a German expert says—"cream off much more" from the international community. The Federal Republic of Germany has in 1990 still managed, for "historical reasons", to make a major contribution of 100 million deutsche mark. But, given German unification problems, members of the new Government in Windhoek doubt that so much money will flow from Bonn in the future. Information Minister Hidipo Hamutenya also expects developments in the Eastern bloc to have "negative effects". The United States, for example, considers Poland more important. Washington has even promised the new Government in Nicaragua $100 million, but only $10 million for Namibia. As Hamutenya says: "Those figures tell a story."

Axel Halbach, co-ordinator of a comprehensive study by the Munich-based IFO Institute for Economic Research, as commissioned by the Ministry for Development Assistance in Bonn, comes to the conclusion that Namibia will probably be spared the dreaded inundation of development aid. It is more likely that, following independence, it will quickly be forgotten, particularly as, with a per capita income of $1,200, it counts as one of the "richest" countries in sub-Saharan Africa. The figure is misleading because it conceals the true extent of inequality. It is the white 5 per cent of the population which can reckon on an annual income of some $14,000; the next 40 per cent of Namibians earn only $670, and the majority 55 per cent (mainly blacks) scrape by on just $63.

Watuza's smile is as soft as his voice. He studied electronics in the Federal Republic of Germany, in Hamburg and Cologne. He returned to Katutura only a few months ago. The diploma he brought with him is just a piece of paper; it has brought him no work yet. Forty thousand people have returned from exile all over the world, hoping to reap the benefits of freedom. Many are now lining up for work at ministries and other agencies. But their chances are slim, because the civil service is, with over 50,000 employees (the South Africans maintained 11 separate ethnically oriented administrations), already bloated enough for a country with a population of only 1.7 million.

Watuza points to the children who go round Katutura picking up bottles in order to collect the deposits payable on return, as if this alone said enough about chances for the future. Katutura, whose name means "no place to stay" has in the past few months attracted new flows of refugees, particularly from the former war zone of Ovamboland in the north. The 23-year bush war against South Africa was a source of both death and (paradoxically) life for people there, since some of the soldiers' and policemen's pay rubbed off on them, for example, in the countless little pubs and bars along the main road in the far north. For a short time after the South Africans withdrew, the United Nations independence observers were able to fill the gap. Now this source of income too has dried up.

Gerhard Tötemeyer, the German-speaking director of the Institute for Social and Economic Studies in Windhoek, thinks that the capital's population has risen by 50,000 in the last nine months. Experts think that it will double by the end of the year. Unemployment in the township has already climbed to over 50 per cent. The rate is 40 per cent in Namibia as a whole. Plenty of social dynamite for the new State, and a serious threat to President Sam Nujoma's ambitious aim to make Namibia the first success story in Africa. It is true that there are still no slums in Katutura on the scale of Nairobi,



"just some shanties". But many families who have a roof over their heads use the rooms in shifts: one group works while the other sleeps, and vice versa.

Watuza, whose wife and children are still living in Germany, resides not in the slum, but in the comfortable house of his brother. The expensive hi-fi system in the living room immediately catches the eye. A blow-up of a photograph of the French Alps serves as wall decoration. The 35-year-old electronics engineer, who worked on production of the German television series "Black Forest Clinic", still hopes it will only be a short stay. "Those of us who have returned from exile want money and work. Our expectations are so high that they can hardly be met", he admits in his almost flawless German. He proudly refused the only job which was offered to him, for a mere 550 rand ("here you earn R 60 as a washerwoman"). He has to feed his family and his parents, "to fill the 10-year gap when I was away studying". How can his father and mother understand his returning empty-handed after so long? What is more, he has what was denied to the majority of black Namibians: education. Eighty per cent of his fellow countrymen are illiterate.

If the Government does not manage to ensure stability, Professor Tötemeyer sees the future as gloomy and thinks that in three years at most "there will be social and political disturbances". Many young blacks are indignant about the concept of reconciliation propagated by the SWAPO Government because it also covers those who devotedly served the old South African régime and now continue to occupy posts in ministries, offices and agencies. Moses Garoëb, Chairman of the ruling SWAPO party, deplores the soft approach: "We did not struggle just to maintain the status quo." Reconciliation has "gone too far" because SWAPO is now "crawling like a dog" before the representatives of the old régime.

On the other hand, Minister for Mines Andimba Toivo ya Toivo, who spent many years in a South African prison on Robben Island, fears that the administration would be paralysed if the old officials were now to be fired. His perception is surprising: "Many members of SWAPO do not agree with our reconciliation policy, particularly those who were in exile. But even people who fought for South Africa are Namibians too. We cannot throw them into the sea. We have to teach this attitude to our people. Most of them expected", the over-70-year-old man says reproachfully, "that after independence everything would fall like manna from heaven, but that is not the way things are."

This is particularly true of jobs. The new Government will, as recently promised by President Sam Nujoma at the sparsely attended May Day celebration, accord "maximum priority" to unemployment. Professor Fanuel Tjingaete, who studied in Berlin and is now Dean of the University of Windhoek's Faculty of Economics, believes that unemployment is still at a level with which Namibia can

cope. He thinks that the potential "is there to get things moving if politicians remain reasonable".

Mining, agriculture and fishing are the three legs on which Namibia's economy stands. The fewest people —only 3.7 per cent—are employed by the foreign-owned mining industry; the most—more than 70 per cent—live and work on the land. The Government wants to push most money in the latter direction. Deputy Minister for Agriculture, Fisheries, Water and Rural Development, Kaire Mbuende thinks "Kavango, Caprivi and Ovambo are in a position to produce enough food for our population". In the future not a single head of cattle will leave the country for South Africa unslaughtered, and fish, which have for years been virtually stolen by 14 foreign fleets, will now be canned and refrigerated by Namibia itself.

Far behind the old German façades of Lüderitz, in the townships of Benguela and Nautilus, where tourists hardly ever stray, poverty and unemployment are the order of the day. Many blacks do not even have a roof over their heads. Often 15 contract or seasonal workers live in a single room. Ragged children and adults, a rare sight in Namibia, can be seen on the streets. The unemployment rate is 60 per cent and over. Magdeline Ipinje, the 29-year-old Education Secretary of the food industry union, reports that SWAPO women have recently set up a soup kitchen to remedy the worst cases of hunger. Two years ago their union won a major increase in the income of lobster fishermen by going on strike.

The city and the townships were always dependent on the fish and lobster catch, but also on the South African mining giant, Consolidated Diamond Mines (CDM), which pursues its diamond profits in an enormous restricted zone. The zone is still out of bounds to the population of Lüderitz. They are also angry with CDM because the city's decline began with the CDM management's move to diamond-rich Oranjemund, ending the port's role as a trans-shipment point for high-carat precious stones. Lüderitz also lost its fishing licence for sardines and whitefish to the port of Walvis Bay, claimed by South Africa. The exodus of people led to heavy debts and, in 1978, to the withdrawal of an autonomous administrative status.

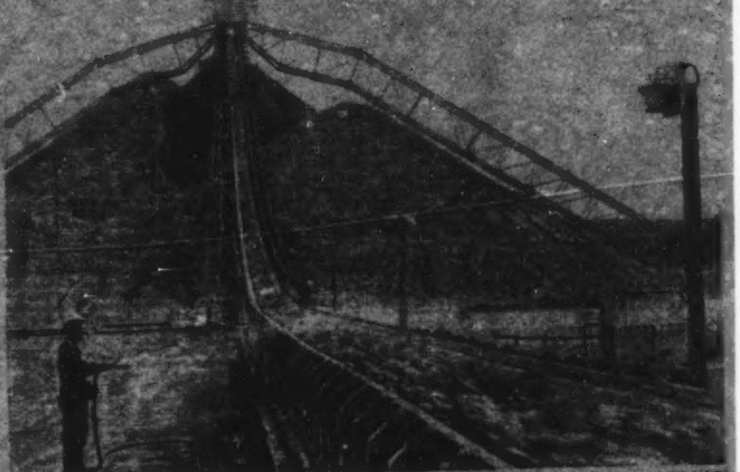
The place where German colonialism was born looked as if it would become a ghost town just like the neighbouring gold-mining settlement of Kolmannshoop. Recently, however, the people of Lüderitz are again feeling more hopeful about the future. Shortly before independence, CDM rediscovered an old mine near Elizabeth Bay and will create 350 jobs there. The Spanish fishing corporation, Pescanova, the biggest in Western Europe, will join South Africans in opening a fish factory providing at least 500 jobs.

The stars shine bright over the former residence of the South African Administrator-General in Windhoek. President Sam Nujoma has invited the new trend-setters of Namibia's political and economic circles to a reception in the garden. A well-known white architect chats with Trade Minister Ben Amathila, while German-speaking Deputy Transport Minister Clause Kierks talks with Prime Minister Hage Geingob, who has appeared in flowing West African costume. His statement to the United Nations in New York that Namibia does not want to be showered with foreign aid meets with copious approval. "We want aid that provides a basis which will stay in place long after the foreign providers of such aid have departed", he says. The international community, as "midwife to Namibia's birth", would now help the country to grow up. The glasses are filled with South African wine. As he makes his toast, Mr. Nujoma is pleased to note "that we can celebrate here where our colonial masters used to do so". Moving into their house was apparently easy, although in some ministries, the masters even helped themselves to the chairs. To shake off their legacy will need more effort. In the Katutura community centre, a poem adorns the wall: "Now that the Namib sings and the tears of the child in Katutura are washed away, who will see to it that the fire burns on?"

Namibia — „Sesam, öffne dich!" können nur mächtige Konzerne sagen

Für die Ausbeutung seiner Bodenschätze ist der jüngste afrikanische Staat noch geraume Zeit auf internationales Know-how und Kapital angewiesen

Namibia, seit März unabhängig und Afrikas jüngster Staat, ist seit langem eine Schatztruhe für ausländische Konzerne. In ihr liegen kostbare Mineralien, Edelmetalle und auch Rohstoffe wie Kupfer, Blei, Zink und nicht zuletzt Uran, die fleißig zutage gefördert und vermarktet werden. Der Bergbau, obwohl er nur gut drei Prozent der Erwerbstätigen beschäftigt, ist die Schlüsselindustrie des Landes mit dem größten Anteil am Bruttoinlandsprodukt (28 Prozent), am Steueraufkommen (26 Prozent) und am Export (über 70 Prozent). Den Schlüssel hält jedoch nicht die neue Regierung in der Hand, sondern das Sagen haben die drei mächtigen Konzerne CDM (Diamanten), Rössing (Uran) und Tsumeb (Kupfer). Für seine Entwicklung ist der junge Staat auf die Einnahmen aus dem Bergbau angewiesen. Deshalb denkt er zumindest vorerst auch nicht an Verstaatlichung. Vor allem die Uran-Manager reiben sich in Erwartung großer Geschäfte die Hände, sind sie doch vom sanktionsgeschädigten Südafrika abgekoppelt. Überdies schlummern in der Truhe womöglich noch unentdeckte Schätze. Neue Funde zeichnen sich ab (Erdgas) oder gelten als wahrscheinlich (Öl). Für das „Sesam, öffne dich!" werden freilich hohes technisches Wissen, viel Kapital und Risikobereitschaft verlangt. Drei Bedingungen, bei denen die Regierung passen muß, weshalb sie auf das Engagement der Konzerne nicht verzichten kann.



Über lange Transportbänder wird das zu hohen Bergen aufgeschüttete [illegible] Gestein zur Weiterverarbeitung gebracht. [illegible]

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Gewerkschaft prangert Mißstände an

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JUN 09 1990

NAMIBIA—ONLY POWERFUL FIRMS CAN SAY 'OPEN SESAME'

To expoit its mineral resources, the newest African State will depend on international know-how and capital for some time to come

by Brigitte Kols

Namibia, independent since March and Africa's newest State, has long been a treasure grove for foreign firms. It has valuable deposits of minerals, precious metals and raw materials such as copper, lead and zinc, not to mention uranium, which are being intensively mined and marketed. Mining, although employing only 3 per cent of the working-age population, is the country's key industry, accounting for the major share of gross domestic product (28 per cent), tax revenue (26 per cent) and exports (over 70 per cent). However, it is not the new Government which holds the keys; the three powerful firms of CDM (diamonds), Rössing (Uranium) and Tsumeb (copper) call the tune. The new State is dependent for its development on income from mining. It is therefore not thinking, at least for the time being, of nationalization. The uranium managers in particular are rubbing their hands in expectation of big business, now that the link with sanctions-stricken South African has been broken. What is more, other treasures probably lie as yet undiscovered in the chest. New discoveries are emerging (natural gas) or considered likely (oil). If it is to be a case of "open sesame", then a high level of technical expertise, abundant capital and risk-taking will of course be required—three conditions which the Government cannot fulfil, making it impossible to dispense with the firms' assistance.

The history of the Namibian diamond rush begins with a wrong judgement. What may have been the first find in 1884 was given away for nothing. After putting into Lüderitz Bay in the warship *Möwe*, Duke Maximilian von Spee would have become a millionaire in no time if he had not listened to his companions. Heinrich Vogelsang, travelling on an assignment from Bremen merchant Adolf Lüderitz, and Gustav Nachtigall, representative of the German Government, confidently wrote off the Duke's find as mere "quartz". The finder was advised "just to throw away" his supposed discovery, with the result that, for a time, the diamond dream petered out in the Namibian sand. It was made real by a black, Zacharias Lewala, in the summer of 1908 for his white master, railway inspector Adolf Strauch, when he stumbled on a diamond while laying track in Lüderitz Bay and handed it over to his boss. Strauch became one of the richest men in the world. No such story, meanwhile, is told of the African Lewala.

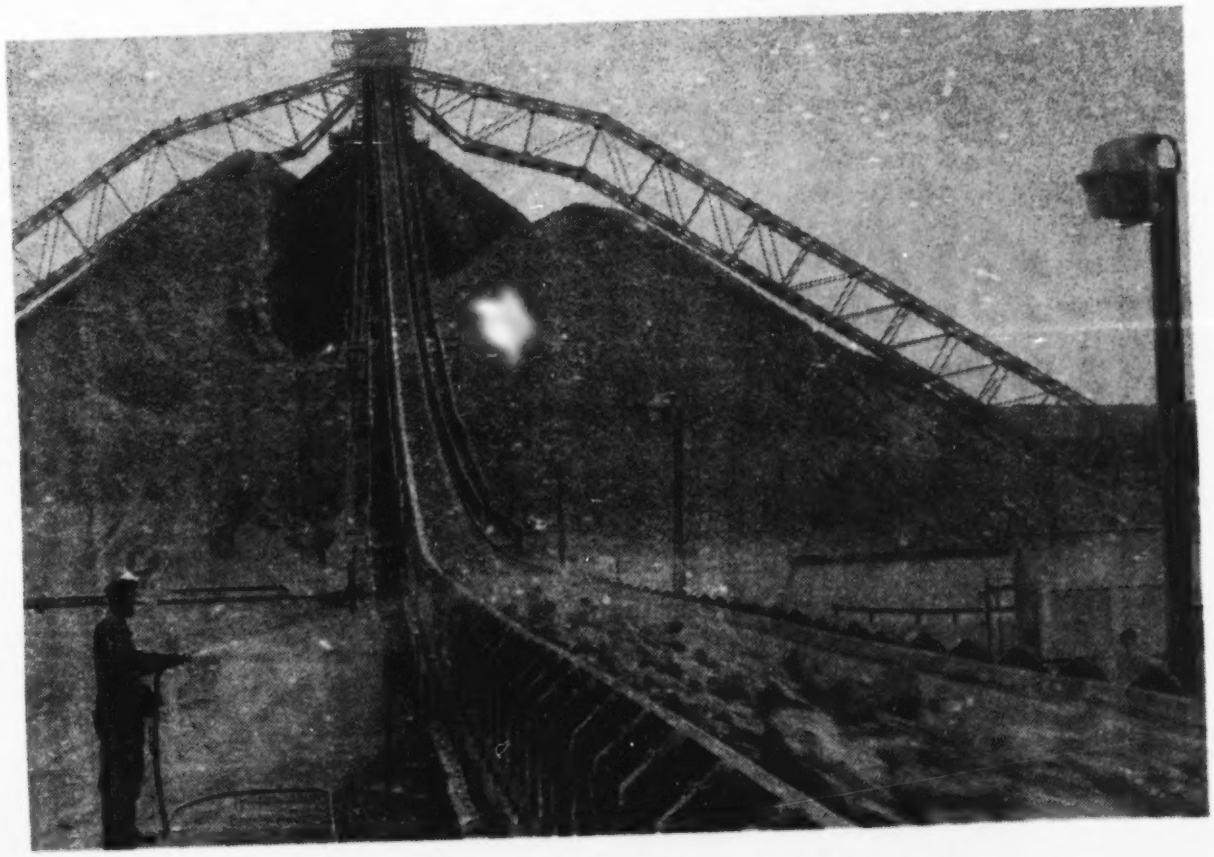
This division of duties would remain typical for the more-than-80-year history of Namibian diamond mining: the Europeans and South Africans made their pile, while the blacks were allowed to help with the digging. The land on the west coast between the Orange River and the 26th parallel was declared a restricted zone with exclusive exploitation rights for the German Colonial Company, later the German Diamond Company. After the First World War, the rights were seamlessly transferred to South African "diamond baron" Ernest Oppenheimer, a native of Hesse, and his Consolidated Diamond Mines of South West Africa (CDM). CDM is an affiliate of the South African firm De Beers.

Things are now much more circumspect in the multi-storey building in Windhoek where CDM is based than in the times of the German colonial precious-stone rush. Visitors penetrate to the holy of holies only after stringent security checks. And for most that is where the excursion ends. Even some international journalists commissioned by the United Nations to study the economy of the new State were denied entry to the restricted zone. Public Relations Manager Clive Cowley regretted that an appointment to view was only available "after the group's departure". They had to content themselves with diagrams, a few genuine diamonds shown under glass and the explanations of a high-level precious-stone expert. The expert nevertheless provided some insight into the secrets of the modern "diamond mafia", the focal point of which is the De Beers-controlled "Central Sales Organization" in London, a narrow conduit through which 80 per cent of the world's entire diamond production passes. Whoever is known there and can order stones "by the parcel" is worth something in the glittering world of carats (the Arab word means the dried seed of the carob tree, which was formerly used to weigh gold in Africa and diamonds in India). Namibia and CDM obviously have excellent goods to offer to the London Market, since 98 per cent of the stones mined there are of gem quality, a proportion which is on average attained by only 25 per cent world-wide. But even the new black Government is well aware that diamonds are not for ever. The diamond content of the marine gravel strata in the restricted zone has fallen off considerably in recent years, with ever-greater quantities of earth needing to be removed. CDM's production has been more than halved, from 2 million carats (one carat is equal to 200 milligrams) in 1977 to some 900,000 carats now. Press Chief Cowley is convinced that "diamond production will not last long into the next century". Coincidentally, CDM's contract for exclusive exploitation in the restricted zone expires in the year 2010. But by that time there will in any case be nothing more to extract from the already proven reserves of some 10 million carats.

The firm has therefore taken the plunge and has for some time been exploring new deposits. It will spend the equivalent of 35 million deutsche mark on exploration this year. Prospecting will be carried out in this unfamiliar area behind a 600-metre-long thick artificial wall, 19 metres below sea-level.

Dispute over Profit Distribution

Last year, according to CDM, 80 per cent of its profits went to the Government to pay various taxes. However, Windhoek University economics Professor Fanuel Tjingaete says that the so-called Thirion Commission, which carried out a critical study of the mining industry in Namibia, discovered in 1986 that the country—at that time still controlled by South Africa—had been cheated and had not always received its "fair share" of mining profits. According to Tjingaete,



diamonds were probably "shifted" from the mouth of the Orange River, in Namibia, to South Africa's Kimberley (the headquarters of De Beers). In any event, the new Government will need better legal technical controls if it is to obtain a reasonable profit.

At the country club in the middle of the desert near Swakopmund, the management of the Rössing uranium mine has invited us to dinner. Rössing, which has been in production since 1975 and in which, apart from major shareholder Rio Tinto Zinc (Great Britain), Frankfurt's Metallgesellschaft also holds a 5 per cent share, is, unlike its old-established colleagues in the diamond business, not shy of the press. The firm meets a fundamentally hypercritical domestic and international public with clever PR men, who aggressively promote it and its activities. Thirteen thousand visitors, including many West German tourists, were carted around the premises in a bus in the course of the past year. All were allowed to look at the open uranium mine in order to ensure themselves that—despite the use of a lot of explosive materials—"the uranium mining is entirely danger-free". Here there appear to be no hoarders of secrets as in the case of CDM, unless one asks about customers over the last few years (of sanctions), which include even West German companies. As a result of Namibia's freedom, the management of the biggest uranium mine in the world feels, in business terms, that it is once again free of the burden of sanctions against South Africa: although these were probably circumvented in secret, they sharply reduced its activities, for example, on the United States market. Because of the economic boycott and the sharp fall in prices (a consequence of the anti-atomic energy movement), Rössing's uranium production on the world market has since 1982 been running at about 80 per cent of capacity.

Two not entirely insignificant employees, Press Chief Barry Clements and German-speaking Namibian Joachim Bierber, who as a chemical engineer is directly involved in uranium production, surprised us with their almost "green" attitudes. The press chief used to manage a national park and the engineer seeks solitude in Namibia's natural environment, particularly in Kavango in the north, which he would most like to see declared a zone exclusively for the use of tourists.

Neither is the firm shy of snappy slogans: "It's Rössing that makes Namibia beautiful." The colourful corporate brochures address the subject of environment, and mining is no exception. However, the blessings gained from the exploitation of useful and valuable mineral resources far outweigh any negative effect on the environment, provided that such effects are kept to a minimum. Rössing underlines its determination to respect radiation and other dangers. The average worker is exposed to only some 3 millisieverts (the sievert is the unit used to measure the effects of radiation on man) each year, compared with the internationally accepted ceiling of 50 millisieverts for workers in the atomic energy industry. As for safety standards, Rössing

points to ratings which are, also in international terms, extremely high.

On the other hand, the *Namibia Textbook* (Peter Hammer Verlag), published in the Federal Republic of Germany in 1984, states the following: "The facts not given by Rössing: its environment measures are inadequate, uranium-bearing dust penetrates into the atmosphere, settles as fall-out within a wide radius of the mining area and contaminates the ground. Rössing workers housed in the company-owned living quarters are also endangered. Dewfalls and rain cause the fall-out to penetrate the earth, so the ground water is threatened."

At his organization's congress in May, the leader of the Miners' Union of Namibia (MUN), Ben Ulenga, complained that there was still no agreement between MUN and Rössing (this was also true of the other firms) on health and safety. "Controls over radiation and other related dangers are a matter for the firm. It is very difficult for workers and MUN to prove cases (of health threats) because of the lack of evidence, because of the fact that Rössing is still a very new uranium mine and that people have come and gone over the years without former Rössing workers undergoing any observation."

On its own estimates, the mine's spending on Namibia in general amounts to the equivalent of over 250 million deutsche mark each year. It points proudly to the Rössing Foundation, established in 1979, which supports development projects in agriculture and fishing, but also the education and training of blacks. Naturally, the critical newspaper *The Namibian* asked whether this was a matter of "window-dressing or solid service" to Namibia and its people, when it gave a detailed report on the Foundation on the occasion of its tenth anniversary. Norman Louis, an assistant to the manager, answers the question as to the reasons for its good deeds quite simply: "We think we must give some of the money which we earn back to the people." His boss, David Godfrey, is "pleased that we in the mining industry, a major element in the Namibian economy, can help develop the two other important sectors, agriculture and fishing".

Rössing also asserts that there is no racial discrimination in its mine; however, it was recently reproached by Minister for Mines Andimba Toivo ya Toivo for very carefully maintaining racial separation in matters of accommodation. Black workers live in the Arandis quarter, close to the mine, in some 900 houses for 6,000 men, while the whites live in the coastal town of Swakopmund's Vineta quarter. The firm divides its workers according to ability into grades of one to eight, and different levels of accommodation are provided "based on grade".

The foreign firms seem, for the time being, despite all the harsh criticism from the Government, to be safe against State intervention, although the mere mention of the word "nationalization" by the Minister for Mines recently unleashed a storm of indignation. The Minister quickly explained that he had been misunderstood. There was no question of a takeover for the time being because "this would create problems for our country and our people, and we have no technicians who could run the mines". For the future, however, joint ventures were being considered. Mike Bates, Chairman of the mining board, contemplates the future calmly. Bates, who is in particular hoping that the Government will introduce an investment protection law to guarantee the unimpeded flow of dividends to shareholders, expresses his opinion coolly: "I expect no major changes in ownership."

Trade Union Denounces Abuses

At the congress of the miners' trade union MUN in May, Ben Ulenga gave a piece of his mind to the mining companies operating in Namibia (apart from the big three—CDM, Rössing and Tsumeb—there are 27 others). The Chairman lamented that living and working conditions for his approximately 13,000 members (out of a total of some 18,000 miners) had not improved over the last year. Contract workers from the north, Ovamboland, were still hired only for a limited period of between 6 and 16 months, particularly by the diamond firm CDM. They enjoyed practically no social security. Most miners, according to MUN, worked a 48- to 56-hour week and lived in camps under round-the-clock company-police supervision without their families and without even permission for conjugal visits.

The minimum wage, with the exception of Rössing and CDM, which paid 3 to 4 rand per hour (the equivalent of a meagre 2 to 2.50 deutsche mark), was under 2 rand. On that pay many could buy no food, even though as a rule they received only one meal per day, consisting at best of maize meal, low-quality fish and sweet potatoes. As for training, according to Ulenga, many firms were "doing next to nothing". Finally, pensions were also "completely inadequate" and, with medical care, "there was little hope of improvement" if MUN was denied any insight or influence. Apparently not even the accident statistics of the mining boards make sense. They set the figure for last year's fatalities at five. But according to MUN, six men were killed in the Tsumeb copper mine alone.

SWEDEN

GT KVÄLLSPOSTEN
iDAG

UTRIKES

Det här är framtiden för Namibia

I öknens fattigdom finns nyckeln till snabb utveckling

MAY 30 1990

TODAY IN NAMIBIA

This is the Future for Namibia

by Jonathan Falck

The Key to Quick Development Lies in the Poverty of the Desert

The village doesn't even have a name—it is simply called Post 3.

It is located way out in the middle of no man's land at the edge of the Kalahari Desert.

Three thousand people live here, depending on non-existent farming and very little livestock.

Yet it is in areas like this that Namibia's future lies. This is where the key to the development of Africa's last colony is to be found.

Namibia has been free for the past 70 days. This signifies the end of more than 100 years of colonial rule—first German, then South African.

During the last few months, the country has been caught up in a frenzy of joy—over the new nation's birth, over the end of 20 years of bloody warfare, over the victory of the liberation movement, the South West Africa People's Organization, in the first free election, and over the unexpected peaceful transition to new rule.

Two Worlds

But now the difficulties are piling up. It is no easy task that lies ahead for President Sam Nujoma and the SWAPO-led Government. Because, in Namibia, two widely separated worlds exist side by side.

There is a large African majority (about 1.7 million) for whom poverty is a bitter reality. There are 80,000 whites, who control the entire economy, own businesses and land and have access to good education. The average income of the whites is 25 times higher than that of the blacks.

Oppressive Heat

Most striking is the difference in agriculture. All the fertile land has been taken over by the large land-owning farmers. The fact is that 6,450 large-scale farmers dominate the holding of land. They own as much land and pasturage as do 210,000 African households. Also, more than 300 white farms are used exclusively as hunting preserves.

The blacks get to live in places like Post 3, a village three hours by car from Windhoek, the capital. It is oppressively hot and dry when I get there—despite the fact that "winter" is on the way.

Eviction

Post 3 is situated right in the middle of Hereroland and is inhabited by some 3,000 Hereros, one of the largest ethnic groups in Namibia. But they didn't always live there. The Herero tribe used to live between Windhoek and the town of Gobabis, 10 miles south of Post 3.

They were evicted in 1923 by white South African farmers who felt that they had greater need of the fertile land. So what the Herero people now have is land right on the edge of the Kalahari Desert. And it is remarkable for the vegetation!

Barren Sand

The sand spreads out between the few low bushes—deep, dark-reddish brown, barren sand. Annual rainfall here amounts to a few hundred millimetres, if even that. This means that the cultivation of any kind of grain crops is out of the question. The only kinds of livestock that can be raised here are small cattle and sheep.

A family in Post 3 will perhaps have 15 to 20 animals—a minimum for getting by. Life is thus tolerable here in the part of the year after the rainy season. In September and October, however, when the dry season is at its worst, the people of the village suffer hardship. Especially hard hit are all those who cannot afford to build a simple house but are forced to live in huts made from the branches of trees, cardboard and cloth.

Fight for Life

For them, every day is a fight for life. And the cottage hospital in the village can accommodate only the neediest cases.

This is the daily scene for nearly all the blacks of Namibia, whether in Hereroland or in Ovamboland in the north. Seventy per cent of the nation's labour force works in agriculture. Despite this, agriculture is responsible for only 10 per cent of the country's GNP (gross national product).

"Nevertheless, it is agriculture we must put our bets on", says Prime Minister Hage Geingob, without hesitation. "it is agriculture that can give the great masses work, and it is a 'must' for a country with an unemployment rate of over 30 per cent."

Poor Price

One problem is the total dependence of Namibian agriculture on the South African market. Eighty per cent of the beef cattle is exported to South Africa, where it is slaughtered.

"For one thing, we get too unfavourable a price in South Africa, and, for another, this prevents us from building up an industry of our own around meat production", says Mr. Ben Amathila, Minister for Industry and Trade, who would prefer to see Namibia succeed as soon as possible in selling a large part of its meat to Europe.

Furthermore, the Government is going to try to invest about 2 billion kronor in agriculture over the next four to five years—money that will go for better seed and better land utilization ("this can triple harvests") and for irrigation projects.

But that is a long, long road to travel.

Regnvatten rinner rakt genom husen

Så lever de svarta i fattiga Katutura

iDAG i NAMIBIA
Jonathan Falck

JUN 08 1990

RAIN-WATER RUNS RIGHT THROUGH HOUSE:

This is How People Live in Impoverished Katutura

by Jonathan Falck

Windhoek is a city of contrasts. In the Klein Windhoek section of the city, the big, fabulous luxury villas are on display. The fences are high, watchdogs are barking everywhere, and in many places signs have been erected which state that a particular house is protected by a guard service 24 hours a day.

This is where the whites of the city live. And their reality is a far cry from the humdrum world that the black majority of the capital city live in.

The reality of these other people is materialized in Katutura. This is where 90,000 people (indeed, perhaps as many as 110,000—nobody knows for sure) live in extreme poverty.

More than half of them are children. The women are also over-represented; the men are often forced to live somewhere else, mainly at the country's big diamond, copper and uranium mines.

High Unemployment

Unemployment is the scourge of Katutura. More than every second adult is without work, a situation which is nothing less than a hotbed of crime. Gangs roam about stealing anything they can get their hands on.

Nevertheless, Katutura has a strong attraction for people from all over Namibia. They stream in here, with dreams of jobs and money. In recent months, over 50,000 blacks have come here to live.

The result is self-evident: dwellings—the simplest of small houses—are in short supply. Newcomers have to live in automobiles or in cardboard huts in yards—huts they have to pay the landowners big money for.

300 Kronor in Rent

The widow Christina pays 300 kronor a month in rent. What she and her six children get for this is access to one room measuring 12 square metres. There is a faucet with cold water, but no electricity. The courtyard serves as a kitchen. The housing in this special area of Katutura has just recently been built. It is intended to house all those from the Ovambo tribes who are leaving their former dwellings in the north and coming to Windhoek.

This part of Katutura is called Hakahana, and is actually built on an impossible site–spread out on a fairly steep sandy hill.

The Water Runs In

"We have no threshold to the house. When it rains, the water runs down the hill and sweeps into the house", says Christina.

In order to support herself and her six children, she works as a chambermaid in a hotel. She gets 600 kronor a month for doing this, and she lives in constant fear of being discharged.

"Another woman came three minutes late one morning. She was then discharged on the spot."

Christina works six days a week. Her workdays are long; she has a long way to go to get to her job—about seven kilometres—and she has to walk.

The Children Alone

This means that her children must necessarily be left alone long after the end of the school day.

"Of course I am uneasy about the children", says Christina. "But we Ovambos have strong ties with one another. I know that my neighbours try to look in on my children."

But she still wants to leave Katutura. Just the same as her neighbours. No one wants to stay. But many of them have no choice.

Sydafrika kräver 2,1 miljarder av sin forna koloni

WINDHOEK (DAG) Namibia, Afrikas yngste kolonI, har att nå att bära:

En skuld på 2,1 miljarder kronor — till Sydafrika.

Och en talar allt för att Internationella valutafonden (IMF) sätter press på den nya namibiska regeringen att betala igen skulden.

Det visar en hemlig IMF-rapport som DAG tagit del av.

iDAG I NAMIBIA
Jonathan Falck

Den unga namibiska nationen, idag inte ens tre månader gammal, kämpar för att frigöra sig från Sydafrika.

För ända sedan 1919 har Sydafrika styrt Namibia (tidigare Sydvestafrika) som en kolonI; en kolonI där apartheid under lång tid tillämpats. Många vita bosättlingar har invandrat och de vita har självklart dominerat alla viktiga ekonomiska funktioner.

HELT INTEGRERAD

De har lagt under sig den bördiga jorden, de har kontrollerat den lönsamma gruvindustrin i landet (och gör så fortfarande) och de har sett till att utbildningssystemet inte kommit de svarta till del.

Nu ska den nya Swaporegimen i Namibia försöka vända allt detta; med den gamla kolonisatorn som närmaste och mäktigaste granne. Och med en ekonomi som är nästan helt integrerad med den i Sydafrika.

Namibia ingår i tullunion [illegible] Sydafrika, fortfarande är [illegible] rand. Nu[illegible] mer till 75 procent från Sydafrika, hela administrationen är uppbyggd av Sydafrika...

STOR SKULD

Och i samband med självständigheten har F W de Klerks regering i Pretoria kommit med ett chockartat krav på Namibia:

Den nya staten är skyldig över 700 miljoner rand — 2,1 miljarder kronor. Det är ersättning för investeringar som Sydafrika gjort i Namibia; byggandet av vägar, telenät med mera.

— Vi har ärvt den här skulden och det är mycket smärtsamt, säger Namibias premiärminister Hage Geingob.

KRIGSANSTRÄNGNINGAR

Många namibier tycker inte att den nya nationen ska betala en krona till de forna herrarna i Pretoria. Orsak: de anser att alla investeringar i Namibia [illegible] och mot Angola. De fina vägarna är byggda för armén — ingenting annat.

— Kan vi bevisa att mycket pengar hämtar från Sydafrikas krigsansträngningar tycker jag knappast vi ska betala, säger Hage Geingob. Men frågan är om han och de övriga i Namibias regering kan säga nej.

SÄTTER PRESS

— Knappast, säger professor Gerhard Tötemeyer, en känd namibisk vit forskare, politiker och debattör. Internationella valutafonden sätter press på oss att betala. Gör vi inte det kan vi säga adjö till krediter från IMF och vi klarar oss inte utan dem.

— Och anledningen till att IMF gör detta är deras relation med Sydafrika, hävdar professor Tötemeyer.

Sydafrika eller någon annan press på Namibia.

INGEN TVEKAN

Men iDAG har tagit del av en hemlig preliminär IMF-rapport från december 1989 om Namibia. Och i den finns inte minsta tvekan.

I rapporten konstateras bort att Namibias skuld uppgår till 700 miljoner rand och att nästan allt handlar om skulder till sydafrikanska finansinstitut. Och IMF poängterar att skulden måste hanteras med yttersta noggrannhet.

Hage Geingob hämmar nämnt av pressen.

— Vårt rykte i omvärlden får sig en knäck om vi inte kan betala våra skulder, säger han. Därför måste vi sätta oss ned och förhandla med den sydafrikanska regimen.

Det blir en tuff förhandling

JUN 12 1990

NAMIBIA'S HEAVY BURDEN

by Jonathan Falck

The new Namibian nation, today not even three months old, is fighting to free itself from South Africa.

Militarily and politically, it has succeeded in doing so. But not economically—and that will be the tough battle.

Ever since 1919, South Africa has administered Namibia (formerly South West Africa) as a colony—a colony in which *apartheid* was imposed for a long time. Many descendants of the white Boers migrated here, and the whites, as is self-evident, have dominated all important economic functions.

Completely Integrated

They have taken over the fertile land, they have controlled the country's profitable mining industry (and are still doing so), and they have seen to it that the blacks do not participate in the educational system.

The new SWAPO régime in Namibia is now going to try to change all that, with the old colonizers as its nearest and most powerful neighbours. And with an economy that is almost completely integrated with that of South Africa.

Namibia is part of a customs union with South Africa. Namibia's currency is still the South African rand, 75 per cent of all imports come from South Africa and the entire administration was put together by South Africa.

Large Debt

And in conjunction with independence, the F. W. de Klerk Government in Pretoria came forth with a shocking demand on Namibia: the new State owes 700 million rand—2.1 billion Swedish kronor. This is compensation for South African investments in Namibia; road-building, a telecommunication network and so on.

"We have inherited this debt, and it is very painful", says Namibia's Prime Minister, Hage Geingob.

War Effort

Many Namibians are of the opinion that not one rand should be paid by the nation to the former master in Pretoria. Reason: as they see it, all investments in Namibia were made on behalf of the war effort undertaken against the SWAPO guerrillas and Angola. The fine roads were built for armies—nothing else.

"If we can prove that much of the money was spent for South Africa's war effort, I think it unlikely that we shall pay", says Hage Geingob. But the question is whether he and the rest of Namibia's Government can say "No".

Bringing Pressure to Bear

"Hardly", says Professor Gerhard Tötemeyer, a well-known Namibian white researcher, politician and debater. "The International Monetary Fund will exert pressure on us to pay. If we don't, we can say good-bye to loans from IMF, and we can't get along without them.

"And the reason why IMF will do this is its relationship with South Africa", adds Professor Tötemeyer.

Representatives of IMF naturally deny any connection with South Africa or any pressure on Namibia.

Not Any Doubt

But iDAG has seen a secret preliminary IMF report of December 1989 on Namibia. And it does not leave any room for doubt.

The report notes quite bluntly that Namibia's debt amounts to 700 million rand and that almost all of it concerns debt owed to a South African financial institution. And IMF points out that the debt must be treated with extreme care.

Hage Geingob certainly knows about pressure.

"Our reputation in the world at large will suffer a blow if we are unable to repay our debts", he says. "Therefore, we must sit down and negotiate with the South African régime."

The negotiations will be tough. There is no likelihood that the Government of South Africa will back down one millimetre.

UTRIKES

Namibia hoppas på västländernas stöd

IDAG I NAMIBIA

Jonathan Falck

På önskelista till FN – 600 pr

JUN 19 1990

NAMIBIA HOPING FOR WESTERN COUNTRIES' SUPPORT

by Jonathan Falck

Beginning with Independence Day on 21 March, the SWAPO-led administration in Namibia's capital of Windhoek has been working with a large goal before it: the "Donors' Conference", on 21 and 22 June, in New York, where the new country will meet representatives of the United Nations, and International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the entire industrialized world.

Economic Assistance

The aim of the Conference is simple—Namibia wants to get as much economic assistance as possible. But assistance on the country's own terms, assistance that will really help Africa's last colony to develop.

"The thing is to change what was inherited in the colonial period. And we must have help with that", says Minister for Information Hidipo Hamutenya.

Six Hundred Projects on Wish List Presented to UN

The Windhoek régime will present the Conference with a menu of 600 important projects for which it needs help. Three hundred of these are priority items.

The projects primarily concern four different areas: agriculture, education, housing and medical care.

"The most important thing is to give the people work", says Prime Minister Hage Geingob. "Today, about 30 per cent of the economically active population is unemployed, and we must put them to work. And the best possibilities of providing the great masses with employment are to be found in agriculture."

It is immensely important to the SWAPO liberation movement, now that it is the country's leading political force, to be able to give the people a better life.

"Independence is meaningless if the people have no food", says Hage Geingob.

For the SWAPO régime, it is a matter of "Namibianizing" the country—of reducing the new nation's almost complete economic dependence on South Africa.

Big Debts

And Namibia is starting off with a deficit. The budget deficit for the current budget year is around 1.5 billion kronor. And the country has also incurred a debt of 2.1 billion kronor which must be paid to South Africa.

"Within five years, we shall have balanced the budget and paid back all debts", says Hage Geingob.

On the whole, the SWAPO movement has clearly taken a step forward as regards economic policy. Gone is all talk about nationalization of, for example, the mining industry (mainly controlled by South African interests).

Instead, the Government is eulogizing the mixed-economy concept. "We must create a safe environment for foreign investment", says Hage Geingob. "We need foreign capital and all are welcome here. We don't say 'No' even to South African enterprises."

Sverige skänker 100 miljoner

Sveriges stöd till Namibia: 100 miljoner kronor!

Och flera stora svenska företag är mycket intresserade av att investera i det nya landet — till exempel ABB, Atlas Copco och Sandvik.

Av JONATHAN FALCK

Sverige har under lång tid stött befrielserörelsen Swapo. Och stödet intensifieras nu när rörelsen leder det nya självständiga landet.

— Jag är övertygad om att Namibia behöver mycket utländskt stöd just i början. Det är helt avgörande för att landet ska kunna göra sig mindre beroende av Sydafrika, säger Sveriges biståndsminister Lena Hjelm-Wallén.

100 MILJONER

Sverige har redan lovat Namibia en första biståndssumma på 100 miljoner kronor.

— Men exakt vad pengarna ska gå till är inte klart. De viktigaste nu är att vi lyssnar på vad de vill ha av oss. Att de får styra utvecklingen, säger Lena Hjelm-Wallén.

Men hon tror att Sveriges bistånd kommer att inriktas på fyra olika sektorer:

● Utbildning. Och det handlar främst om fortbildning av lärare.

● Transporter. Sida har redan gjort en studie av Namibias transport- och kommunikationsproblem; och studien har överlämnats som gåva till regeringen i Windhoek.

● Finanser. Namibia ska så snart som möjligt ha en egen nationalbank och en egen valuta och Sverige bistår med experter på området.

● Ungdomsarbetslöshet. Många av Swapos ledande män har bott länge i exil i Sverige och känner väl till våra program mot ungdomsarbetslöshet.

VILL INVESTERA

Det är inte bara svenska staten som är intresserad av projekt i Namibia. Det gäller också flera stora svenska företag.

IDAG/Jonas Dagson

Flera högt uppsatta tjänstemän i Windhoek påstår att det redan är klart att ABB ska ta hand om elektrifieringen av de norra delarna av landet.

Det förnekar ledningen för ABB men medger samtidigt att företaget uttryckt intresse att få delta i det här programmet.

SWEDEN GIVES 100 MILLION KRONOR

by Jonathan Falck

Swedens's aid to Namibia: 100 million kronor. Many large Swedish enterprises—for example, ABB, Atlas Copco and Sandvik—are very interested in investing in the new country.

Sweden has long supported the SWAPO liberation movement. And that support is being intensified now that the movement is leading the new independent nation.

"I am convinced that Namibia needs a great deal of foreign aid now at the very beginning. It is crucially important for the country to be able to reduce its dependence on South Africa", says Sweden's Minister of Assistance, Lena Hjelm-Wallén.

One Hundred Million Kronor

Sweden has already promised Namibia an initial sum of 100 million kronor in aid.

"But exactly what the money is to be used for is not clear. What is most important now is to listen to what they want of us, so that they may be able to direct their development", says Lena Hjelm-Wallén.

She believes, however, that Sweden's aid will be channelled into four different sectors:

Education: Teacher training will be the foremost concern.

Transport: SIDA (Swedish Industrial Development Agency) has already made a study of Namibia's transport and communications problems, and the studies have been presented to the Government as a gift.

Finances: Namibia will have its own national bank and its own currency as soon as possible, and Sweden is providing assistance in the form of experts in this field.

Youth employment: Many of the leading figures in SWAPO lived in exile in Sweden for a long time and are well acquainted with our unemployment programme.

Willing to Invest

It is not only the Swedish State that is interested in projects in Namibia. The same is true of a number of Swedish enterprises.

Several highly placed officials in Windhoek say it is already an open secret that ABB will be in charge of the electrification of the northern parts of the country.

ABB management denies this, but at the same time admits that the company has expressed interest in participating in that programme.

JUN 08 1990

Appeared in the London Press and Edmonton Journal

CANADA

AFRICA: NAMIBIA NEEDS HELP, NOT HANDOUTS

Short-term financial aid may be necessary, but the new country wants to avoid the aid syndrome

by John R. Walker

"We are not a basket case. We should not get ourselves into the aid syndrome." Those words from a University of Namibia economist recalled the situation in newly independent Bangladesh 18 years before when this reporter witnessed the flood of aid agencies into that war-ravaged country.

But Fanuel Tjingaete is quite right. Namibia is not in the desperate straits of a Bangladesh and should not be inundated with large-scale aid projects that leave the country aid-ridden for years to come as Bangladesh was.

That view is expressed by many people, both black and white, in the new Namibia, whom a group of foreign journalists on a UN-Sponsored tour interviewed around this austerely beautiful country.

The Prime Minister, Hage Geingob, agrees in general, but argues that immediately there is a need for aid, especially in the populous, war-torn Ovamboland north, where unemployment is serious and food is scarce.

But even he says it should be for "short-term purposes". "We should not depend on it for ever."

He speaks of the country's debt, including a 700-million-rand ($US 280 million) debt incurred on its behalf by South Africa which is officially recognized by the World Bank, much to Namibia's distress.

"We are trying to avoid handouts", he says, but given its size, nearly as large as Nigeria, and a small population of 1.5 million, that may be difficult. "In five years' time we should like to be able to balance the budget."

There is widespread agreement among government ministers, civil servants, independent economists and aid people here that unemployment is the most pressing problem.

For despite the efficiently organized election under UNTAG auspices, and the speedy development of a new and highly regarded constitution by the constituent assembly, the newly independent country has been swamped by its returning exiles and fighters from a quarter-century of struggle.

They could become a restless danger to the new Government, demanding white jobs, denying the reconciliation programme, and expecting more than the overburdened régime can produce or handle in a hurry.

Namibia has several things going for it. To begin with, it has a first-rate physical infrastructure left it, courtesy of the South African Defence Force and the largely South African mining and ranching interests.

Excellent highways, railroads and telecommunications systems span the country, as well as good airports, an electric-power network and a national radio system. Yet to be negotiated is its excellent harbour at Walvis Bay, for historic reasons still in South African hands. The new cabinet of President Sam Nujoma has won approval of both white and black residents, and the pragmatic approach taken by the new Government has won surprising support from white Namibians who are happily staying in an African country they believe has a better chance to succeed than most.

That said, there is the fear among some experts here that when the UN donors' conference, including Canada, is held in New York on June 21-22, some Namibian ministers may be talked into large-scale projects that the country does not really need.

As Mr. Tjingaete argues, Namibia needs to develop the neglected rural areas, improve domestic food production, encourage a multitude of small businesses, and nationalize the fishing industry.

The major mining industries, on which the country has relied, may be a declining asset, and the country needs to be more self-reliant, dependent on its own strengths.

But the Government wants to maintain a 10,000-man army for some reason not explained, and it needs to revolutionalize an education system based on South Africa's hated *apartheid* system, and those will be costly items.

Meanwhile, the plans for a series of low-cost, labour-intensive, unpaved feeder roads in over-populated but agriculture-rich Ovamboland, devised by Transport Deputy Minister Klaus Dierks, are side-lined, although they would provide fast employment, ready access of food to markets and transport routes to other countries than South Africa.

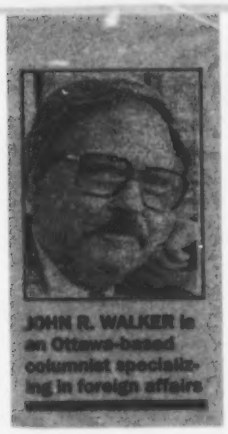
The Minister of Agriculture, Kaire Mbuende, is anxious to push the Kovango water-control system, an ecologically damaging project, to canal water around this drought-ridden country at a cost of $US 120 million.

The Government is busily devising an investment code for the country to reduce its economic reliance on South Africa and it is preparing to establish its own central banking system and money.

But Minister of Information, Hidipo Hamutenya insists the priorities still are: (1) agriculture and rural development; (2) education and training; (3) affordable housing; (4) primary health care for the disadvantaged.

Yet Namibia has a better opportunity than many previous newly independent African nations to make a success of its mineral-rich soil, its vast cattle country, and its underdeveloped agricultural land.

That is as long as the donor countries take a sympathetic but constructive view of the financial help they can give to Africa's last colony and the UN's 160th member state.



JOHN R. WALKER is an Ottawa-based columnist specializing in foreign affairs

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JUN 08 1990

WORLDVIEW COLUMN

by John R. Walker

The lure and exploitation of mining have been Namibia's hope and fate and the upcoming UN donors' conference must take account of what South African and other foreign companies' greed has done to newly independent Namibia.

Namibia is squeezed between a western sea of sand and rock, the Namib Desert, and the thorn-bushed Kalahari Desert to the east.

The fertile band across the northern border and down the centre provides the main home for the people who produce the real wealth of this newly independent nation, its extensive mineral deposits.

It was the lure of diamonds in the sand dunes of its Atlantic shoreline and of uranium and gold in its rock-bound interior that in part convinced South Africans to hang on to this territory illegally for the past three decades so as to exploit that wealth. Next week, as a United Nations donors' conference meets in New York to consider aid to Namibia, its members should remember what the greed of South African and other foreign companies has done to Namibia today.

As Ben Ulenga, General Secretary of the Mine Workers Union of Namibia, told a group of foreign journalists on a UN tour, "the mining companies operate secretly" and the two biggest, Rössing Uranium and Consolidated Diamond Mines, "use a lot of window dressing" to cover up their operations.

Fanuel Tjingaete, economics professor at the University of Windhoek, cited the Thirion Commission of 1986 which found CDM had been overmining diamonds, evading taxation through a network of internal companies, and even using transfer pricing to cover profits in the De Beers world diamond cartel.

The UN Council for Namibia in a 1980 report found that Rössing, the world's largest open-pit uranium mine, owned by Rio Tinto Zinc of London, using cheap labour from the native homelands established by South Africa's nuclear needs, civilian and military, and through the world uranium cartel provided secret shipments to Britain and West Germany.

Both the De Beers–CDM mines, subsidiaries of the huge Anglo-American complex of South Africa, and Rössing have cleaned up their act since then, providing better working conditions for the black miners, better housing and pay, but not good enough for Namibia's new mining minister, Andimba Toivo ya Toivo.

Yet he is not ready to kill the golden goose that generates 75 per cent of the country's foreign-exchange earnings and nearly 30 per cent of its gross domestic product.

"We are not contemplating the nationalization of mining because it would cause problems for our country and our people", Toivo told us.

"We haven't got the technicians to run these mines", he added, saying in the longer future that might be an option.

"We are only thinking of entering into joint ventures with these mines, so that our country and our people can also benefit from the profits which are made by these multinational corporations."

Because of the exploitation of these mines, the diamond fields are expected to run out in 10-15 years and the huge but low-grade uranium mine may last only until 2012 or 2025.

Other mines, like the Tsumeb copper, lead and zinc mines, have also been widely milked before independence gave the lands back to the Namibian people.

There are still extensive areas in the north-west that have not been fully explored and may be mineral-rich, so the country needs to make sure this industry continues to grow and profit.

With that sustaining base, then other industries like fishing, which has been badly exploited by South Africans and Europeans, can be resuscitated for Namibians, and agriculture, ranching and small business can be improved to help diversify the economy.

As a result of the unbalanced economy run by the South Africans, Namibia's domestic agriculture and small businesses did not thrive. Absentee ownership of game ranches was allowed to proliferate. Its black labour force was kept under-educated, and its health and social welfare was maintained at a minimum level for the majority of the population.

And 75 per cent of all its trade was channelled through South Africa, which controlled, and still does, its only good ocean port, Walvis Bay, an anomaly that has to be negotiated with the De Klerk Government.

President Sam Nujoma has said that "our fragile democracy" faces many problems as a result of its recent history, but wants Namibia to stand on its own feet, while extricating itself from South Africa's clutches as best it can.

That is why the new Namibian Government is looking for down-to-earth aid when Canada and other UN donors meet to pledge what assistance they can.

NORWAY

NORSK TELEGRAMBYRÅ

ONSDAG 15. NOVEMBER 1989 — ET TILFELDIG VALGT NYHETSDOGN

MAY 19 1990

NAMIBIA: NEW GIANT OF THE FISHING INDUSTRY IN THE SOUTH-EAST ATLANTIC?

The fishing vessels are bobbing up and down in the harbour basin. Activity is moderate. Another bad season is over, with lobster catches far below normal. Hardship and deteriorating conditions have been the daily lot of the population of the Namibian seaport of Lüderitz over the past few decades.

Now the town's 4,000 inhabitants have been given new hope. Namibia's newly won independence has changed the outlook for the future. The authorities have taken steps to secure control over Namibian waters and over the exploitation of resources along the coast. Several major investment projects are also in the pipeline.

"We are optimistic and hopeful for the future", says Magdeline Ipinge, spokesperson for the town's trade unionists.

Extensive Overfishing

During South Africa's long occupation of Namibia, the stock of fish in Namibian waters was depleted by extensive overfishing by other countries. And a good proportion of the gains has ended up outside Namibia. "There just hasn't been any control over the exploitation of fishery resources", says Kaire Mbuende, Deputy Minister for Agriculture, Fisheries, Water and Rural Development.

Over the long term, fishery resources can be an important contributing factor in the reconstruction of Namibia, provided that the resources are utilized in a rational way. They should yield substantial export earnings, guarantee employment and provide nutritious food for the population, Mbuende points out.

Namibia has immense fishery resources. The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) has estimated that the country should be able to count on a total annual catch of 1.5 million tonnes. This would put Namibia among the leading fishing nations of the world.

However, in recent years, fishing has only contributed a small proportion to Namibia's gross national product—between 4 and 8 per cent.

Factory Ships

A small group of South African-controlled companies has dominated inshore fishing, the processing industry and exports. Sardines and the sardine canning industry have been the most profitable, but large quantities of anchovies, mackerel and hake, in addition to the more lucrative lobster fishing in the Lüderitz area, have also provided good earnings.

It is the large foreign factory ships-mainly Spanish, Soviet, Romanian and Cuban trawlers—that have been engaging in deep-sea fishing. Only very occasionally have they put in at Namibian ports with their haul. The market value of the foreign catches was estimated at 1,500 million rand in 1988 (about 4.2 billion kronor).

"We have asked the trawling countries to leave our waters. Some have gone, others left and came back again", says Mr. Mbuende, who makes no secret of the fact that the Spaniards have been the least co-operative.

After independence was gained on 21 March this year, the country's new Government took decisive action and declared a 200-mile economic zone along the coastline. Norway contributed expertise during the formulation of the new legislation.

The aim is to build up a fleet of coast-guard vessels to patrol the waters within the zone. Talks have already been initiated with neighbouring Angola to the north concerning a joint effort in this field.

The only fishery-protection service in existence today operates out of the country's largest seaport, Walvis Bay, which South Africa has so far refused to give up.

Joint Ventures

Several countries have offered to help set up a Namibian fisheries-protection system. A Norwegian contribution might also be a possibility in this area. But the big surge of interest has come from foreign investors wanting to enter into joint ventures in the fishery sector.

The Spanish multinational group Pescanova was one of the first on the scene and, in co-operation with a new Namibian company, has announced investments in the fishing industry totalling 64 million rand.

Most of this will go to an industrial plant operating year-round in Lüderitz and employing 500 people. Fresh and frozen fish will be processed, packed and stored. As much as 95 per cent will go for export. There are also plans to set up an ice-producing plant and to manufacture nets.

This is a welcome shot in the arm for the inhabitants of Lüderitz. Many see the possibility of a new lease on life for this idyllic outpost in the south-western corner of Namibia. At the same time it will give Namibia sorely needed foreign currency. Perhaps the country, given sufficient time, can ultimately attain the position of one of the world's fishing giants.

NAMIBIA INVITES NORDIC BUSINESSES TO INVEST IN THE COUNTRY

by Paul Heisholt

Namibia welcomes investments by Nordic businesses. "There is much work to be done, and we hope that Nordic businesses will show an interest", says Namibia's Foreign Minister, Theo-Ben Gurirab, in an interview with Norsk Telegrambyra.

Mr. Gurirab is in Norway to attend a joint meeting of Foreign Ministers of the front-line States and their Nordic colleagues. It is the third meeting of its kind, but the first time that Namibia is represented.

Scarcely eight weeks have elapsed since Namibia gained independence, after struggling more than 20 years for its freedom. Foreign Minister Gurirab praised Nordic support for the independence movement. He now hopes that Norway and the other Nordic countries will help with the reconstruction and development of the new independent State.

Setting the Machinery in Motion

"The first priority is to set the machinery in motion", said Mr. Gurirab. For this Namibia needs assistance from the international community. Fisheries and energy are the two sectors in which Norwegian assistance and expertise are especially needed.

Norway has already provided legal assistance in connection with the establishment of a 200-mile economic zone. "When the law on the zone is finalized and passed, we would like to have help in putting it into effect", said Mr. Gurirab.

Namibia also hopes to be able to draw on Norwegian oil expertise. A large gas field has already been found off the coast. The field is not really profitable under current market conditions but it has raised hopes that oil might be found in Namibia.

"We also need help with the budget", said Mr. Gurirab, and recalled that the country inherited a budget deficit of 500 million rand (1.4 billion kronor). This is one of the several matters the Namibian Foreign Minister will bring up at the meeting with his Nordic colleagues.

South Africa

Developments in South Africa are the main topic to be discussed at the Foreign Ministers' meeting in Oslo on Sunday and Monday. But much of the week-end has been devoted to bilateral talks. On Saturday, Mr. Gurirab met Tom Vraalsen, Minister of Development and Co-operation, and on Sunday afternoon he held a separate meeting with Foreign Minister Kjell Magne Bondevik.

The Oslo meeting is a continuation of the informal contacts maintained between the Foreign Ministers of the Nordic countries and the front-line States for a number of years. The last time they met was at Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania, in January 1988.

The front-line States now include Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Namibia, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

NORWEGIAN BOOK COLLECTION FOR NAMIBIA

by Paul Heisholt

More than 2,400 books and documents on Namibia have been collected by the Norwegian historian and African expert Tore Linne Eriksen, in the course of more than 10 years' research. Now the collection will be part of a major contribution to building up a national library in Namibia.

"An invaluable contribution", says Peter Katjavivi, who is expected to be appointed as the new President of the University of Windhoek.

Namibian authorities recently approached Tore Linne Eriksen and asked permission to take over the African expert's impressive collection, and he said he would give his consent.

"I am glad that the collection can go where it belongs", he said.

Forbidden Literature

The University library was very inadequate. Much recent literature and many conference documents are not to be found there. For political reasons, these could not be obtained as long as the country was ruled by South Africa.

"Tore Linne Eriksen's contribution will go a long way towards helping to remedy the deficiency", said Mr. Katjavivi.

A British and a West German researcher have also been asked to contribute their Namibia collections. "The three experts' collections combined practically make up a national archive on their own", Mr. Katjavivi observed.

Mr. Katjavivi also has warm praise for Tore Linne Eriksen's Namibia bibliography. A new edition has just appeared, with 650 new titles. Norway's Ministry of Foreign Affairs has financed the reprinting of 200 copies to be distributed to government offices and various institutions in Namibia. The bibliography will be included in a large data base now in preparation.

THE SHAPING OF NAMIBIA

by Paul Heisholt

The first flush of enthusiasm is over and Namibia's 1.7 million inhabitants are now confronted with the realities of everyday life. Political independence has been won, and now the long struggle for economic independence is beginning. The legacy left by the South African occupiers lies heavily on the shoulders of the new nation.

A budget deficit of 1.4 billion kronor, widespread unemployment and enormous social imbalances are the result of all the years spent under South African rule. But the country has substantial resources. The diamond, uranium and copper mines are a good source of foreign-currency earnings. Namibia also has abundant fishery resources and an agricultural potential that has never been exploited.

If it is administered on rational lines, Namibia should have a good chance of avoiding the sad fate shared by many other African countries after independence. The new Government's first policy statements bode well for the future, judging by the reactions of political observers, economists and business representatives.

Reconciliation

President Sam Nujoma—the man South Africans and white Namibians loved to hate—preaches reconciliation. "Three decades of bitter struggle for national independence and 23 years of bloody war have inflicted deep wounds on our society", Mr. Nujoma stated in a recent interview.

"Now the wounds must be healed", says the President, who has surprised many by his conciliatory and highly pragmatic stance since SWAPO came to power. The Marxist rhetoric from the war days has disappeared.

This has not been lost on businessmen and international investors either. And it is not unusual to hear the top people in multinational corporations, such as the diamond group CDM and the uranium giant Rössing, saying "Sam said this and Sam said that", for they are on first-name terms with the President.

There is naturally a certain amount of showing off in all this, but it probably also reflects a change of attitude. Even if a good many white businessmen want everyone to know about the good contacts they had with SWAPO even before independence, one hardly used to hear the same cordial tone when times were bad.

Imbalances

The Namibians have inherited an economy with enormous imbalances. While 5 per cent of the population—mostly whites—earn over 200,000 kronor a year, 55 per cent have less than 500 kronor to live on. Estimates of the number of unemployed range from 30 to 40 per cent.

Only a tenth of the amount spent on education for whites has been set aside for black education. Eighty per cent of the teachers are unqualified or underqualified. As much as 65 per cent of the population are unable to read or write.

White farmers have been able to live well with the help of substantial subsidies from South Africa, while in Ovamboland in the north, where the majority of the country's population lives and where there are good opportunities in the agricultural sector, the people have had to shift for themselves.

Many corner-stones of the *apartheid* system are still in place in this country, says the Information Minister, Hidipo Hamutenya. The inequalities must be evened out (but it can't be done overnight, government representatives insist) to stem the rising tide of expectations following in the wake of independence.

JAPAN

Appeared in the Sankei Shimbun

自立への道

ナミビア報告

〈上〉

新目標つかめず前途多難

喜びと戸惑い

アフリカ大陸最後の植民地といわれていたナミビアが独立してほぼ二カ月。このほど国連が編成した国際記者視察団に参加。二週間近く現地の実情を見た。かつてのドイツによる植民地のあと、延々七十年をこえる隣接の南アフリカ共和国による支配から脱したナミビアの誕生には、長年かけた国連の努力にあずかるところが大きい。だが、これまですべてが南ア・白人政権の主導で機能してきたのがナミビアの現実。黒人ナミビア人たちの貧困の克服、教育のレベルアップ―本当にひとり歩きできるナミビアへの国づくりは前途を難、との感を深くさせられた。

（ウィントフーク　草野淳）

われわれのナミビア入り初日に、ニューヨークの国連総会で、ナミビアの国連加盟が決まった。独立後わずか一カ月そこそこで「百八十番目の国連メンバー」になれたことで、首都ウィントフークの新聞には「ナミビア万歳」の大見出しが躍り、ラジオはくり返しこのニュースを流した。

ところが、独立間もない国のこと、なにかとミスも起きた。「ナミビア国連加盟承認」の情報をニューヨークから中継と、この国唯一のテレビ局NBC（ナミビア放送）が早くから予告していたのに、いざ始まったら、音声だけ流れて画面には依然なにもうつらずじまい。テレビ中継をわれわれ記者団に見てもらおうとわざわざ政府庁舎の会議室に集めたナミビア政府情報省の担当者たちは「またわが国の電話中継技術はつたないのか」と、がっかりしてしまった。

「政治の独立の次は労働者の独立だ」と、メーデーの前夜、ウィントフークの中心部、ゼロ地区の黒人居住地、カッツーラでは撮影　草野淳）

これからの出番。ナミビアへの入国ビザは、ウィントフーク国際空港に到着してから発行してもらう、というおぼつかなさだ。市内のホテルから元宗主国、南アのヨハネスブルクに電話をかけようとしたら、まだ国内電話扱いだった。

一朝一夕に、独立国家の体裁がそろうと期待するほうが無理だろう。「これが独立なのか、これから先、国がどう変わるというのか、というのが多くのナミビア人たちの今の気持ちなんです」と、情報省の高官もあえてこぼす。

「政治の独立の次は労働者の独立だ」と、メーデーの前夜、ゼロ地区の黒人居住地、カッツーラでは撮影　草野淳）

ナミビア独立闘争の主役となった政治・ゲリラ組織、南西アフリカ人民機構（SWAPO）のTシャツをかかげて喜ぶ少年（首都、ウィントフーク近郊の黒人居住地、カッツーラで＝撮影　草野淳）

実はがはなやかだったわりに、分析してみせた。

は、ほんの八百人ほどの黒人労働者が行進に参加しただけ。「独立をとげ、ようやく達成できたあとの新たな目標がつかめず、生活の現状は少しも良くなりそうにないからだ」と、地元紙「タイムズ・オブ・ナミビア」のチョンベ編集長は、国民一般のさめた感情を言いすかしメーデーの祝典と経済学部長）との指摘もあった。

ヌジョマ人統領以下、ゲインゴブ首相、ゲリラ外相、トイボヤトイ求職業エネルギー相など、主要閣僚ポストにそろったが「それぞれが自分なりの政策哲学を言い合っていて、まとまりがない」（シンガエデ・ナミビア大学

耳られて機能してきただけに、黒いナミビア・ナショナリズムは、そのまま白人不信につながる。「国民的和解」がスローガンだが、ゲインゴブ首相は「甘い汁を吸ってきた白人たちがつぐないをしてこその和解」と、われわれ記者団を前にズバリ言ってのけた。

地元新聞の投書欄にも「ヒョウはオリに入れられてもまだら模様が変わるものではない」と、アフリカらしいたとえで白人不信の噴出が寄せられていた。

「白人たちにとって、いったん味わった特権は手放し難い」という労働者のある黒人高官の言葉がまだ今のところナミビアの現実のようだ。白人・黒人の和解までには「これまでの心理的な二日酔いがさめないことには一と、若いインテリの白人女性は言った。

ナミビア独立闘争の主役となった政治・ゲリラ組織、南西アフリカ人民機構（SWAPO）のTシャツをかかげて喜ぶ少年（首都、ウィントフーク近郊の黒人居住地、カッツーラで＝撮影　草野淳）

広大な砂漠と岩山で首都と全く分断されたような状態の北部へ行くと、新聞も届かなければ、テレビもない。隣国アンゴラとの国境に近く、オバンボランドと呼ばれるこの地域には、ナミビア総人口の五〇％以上に当たる原住民（オバンボ族）が住んでいるというが「独立」を知ったのはもっぱら口コミと国連の独立移行支援グループ（UNTAG）による広報活動によってだった、と聞いた。

政治、経済、社会のすべてが長年、南アおよびナミビアの白人（総人口の六％）に牛耳られていた。

TOWARDS SELF-RELIANCE: A REPORT FROM NAMIBIA

Struggle to find new objectives—a joy and a puzzle

by Atsushi Kusano

Two months have passed since Namibia, the last colony on the African continent, became independent. Joining the international media tour organized by the United Nations, I observed the current situation of Namibia for two weeks. Namibia had been ruled by neighbouring South Africa for more than 70 years after it was colonized by Germany. Namibia attained its independence helped by many years of the UN's efforts. However, Namibia had been managed by South Africa and by whites. The poverty of a large number of black Namibians will have to be overcome. The level of education has to be upgraded. Namibia has a long and tough road to go in order to be truly independent.

Namibia was admitted to the UN on the day we arrived in Namibia. It was only one month after its independence that Namibia became the UN's 160th Member. The headlines of the Windhoek newspapers read, "Viva Namibia", and the radio repeatedly aired the news of celebration.

The country is new-born. Some trouble was bound to happen. The Namibian Broadcasting Company (NBC), the country's only television station, had advertised that it would broadcast, from New York, Namibia's admission to the UN. Once the programme began, however, NBC was not able to air pictures but only sounds. Staff of the Ministry of Information, who had zealously gathered journalists from all over the world in the governmental conference room, seemed to be very embarrassed, apologizing that "our satellite-transmission technology is still inadequate".

Opening Namibian embassies around the world is another task. Visas to enter the country are issued at the airport customs area. Telephone calls to Johannesburg, South Africa, are still considered domestic calls.

We cannot expect the contruction of a full-fledged independent nation within a short time. "Many Namibians are wondering whether the country is going to remain as it is, or how it is going to change", says a senior official of the Information Ministry.

"The next goal is the independence of workers", was the May Day advertisement. However, only 600 black workers participated in the march. "People haven't found new goals since the country has achieved independence. Their life is not likely to improve", said Mr. Chombe, the Editorial Chief of *The Times of Namibia*, who analysed the reason for the people's passivity.

In addition to President Sam Nujoma, black Namibians hold major cabinet posts: Prime Minister Hage Geingob, Foreign Minister Theo-Ben Gurirab, Mining and Energy Minister Toivo ya Toivo, and so on. However, Mr. Tjingaete, Director of the Department of Economics at the Windhoek University, pointed out: "Everybody professes his own political philosophy and there is no direction."

In the northern part of Namibia, which is separated from the capital by a vast desert and rocky mountains, there are no newspapers or television sets. The Ovambo tribe, which makes up more than 50 per cent of the total Namibian population, lives near the border with Angola in a region known as Ovamboland. The Ovambo people found out about the independence of their country by word of mouth or by the public information campaign of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG).

As the whites, who make up only 6 per cent of the total population, had been controlling the politics, the economy and the society, black Namibian nationalism evokes mistrust towards them. Even though "national reconciliation" is the slogan of the country now, Prime Minister Geingob flatly told the visiting journalists: "Reconciliation is possible only when the whites who have monopolized the benefits make amends."

A local newspaper carried a letter which described black people's mistrust of the whites by saying, "The spots of a leopard do not change even when the leopard is put in gaol."

"The whites hardly ever give up the privileges they have acquired", said a high-ranking black official of the Ministry of Labour. This is still the reality of Namibia today. To achieve reconciliation between the blacks and whites, "it is necessary to cure the psychological hangover", said a young white woman.

TOWARDS SELF-RELIANCE: A REPORT FROM NAMIBIA

Eighty per cent of main foodstuffs imported—lingering shadow of South Africa

by Atsushi Kusano

There are three signs on display at the customs gate of the Windhoek International Airport: "Residents", "Aliens" and "RSA" (Republic of South Africa). Since its independence, Namibia still cannot classify South Africa as an "alien" country. This graphically shows the degree of the South African presence in Namibia. The whites had controlled the mining industry long before Namibia's independence. They sapped most of its profits.

Only recently, Namibian Airlines opened a direct flight between Windhoek and Frankfurt twice a week. Most other air routes to Namibia have to go through Johannesburg. All the railways and roads run to South Africa.

"If the link with South Africa were cut, Namibia would be isolated", explained the Vice-Minister of the Namibian Ministry of Transportation and Communication. Walvis Bay, the largest seaport and an exit to the Atlantic Ocean, is still under South African control. Sixty per cent of total Namibian exports are shipped from Walvis Bay. As long as the Bay remains under South African control, Namibia's vital site is in South Africa's hands. According to the Namibian Government, South Africa would return Walvis Bay to Namibia if Namibia would pledge never to take any action against South Africa. Walvis Bay is important not only economically, but also militarily. How to use this "Walvis Bay card" is one of the major concerns in Windhoek.

It is the Government's as well as each citizen's responsibility to free Namibia from South Africa", urges Minister of Trade Amathila. "Namibia" means a "shield against invasion" or "fort" in the local language. This name seems to carry people's earnest wish for freedom from South Africa.

Since its independence, Namibia still uses the South African rand (2.5 rand for one United States dollar). The Government is planning to create Namibia's own currency by June 1992. Staff members of the International Monetary Fund are advising Namibia on the founding of Namibia's own central bank.

"It is impossible to reconstruct Namibia overnight because it had been a part of South Africa for about 70 years", admitted Trade Minister Amathila. In the northern villages, the purchasing power has fallen by 60 per cent, because 15,000 South African soldiers have withdrawn.

A local journalist made a cynical remark, saying: "Cutting ties with South Africa is suicidal for Namibia." "Get away, South Africa", was the election slogan. Now, everybody is looking to Pretoria.

"The capital owned by the South African whites in the mining industry should be reduced gradually", said Mr. Toivo ya Toivo, the Minister of Mining and Energy. "Economic independence from South Africa should proceed selectively, because interdependence is the precept of the market economy", explained Mr. Tjingaete, the Director of the Department of Economics at the Windhoek University. These are the lines of thinking for now to cope with the dilemma of independence.

Namibia has already joined the South African Customs Union. It is planning to build its national power within the framework of economic co-operation with its neighbouring countries, including South Africa. Political independence and economic independence are, after all, two different things.

主要食料の80

TOWARDS SELF-RELIANCE: A REPORT FROM NAMIBIA

Still a Difficult Road Ahead for Nation-building—Two Faces

by Atsushi Kusano

Namibia has two faces, rich and poor. The former is represented by Windhoek, the capital city, which is well-established and clean. There are first-class hotels and a modern headquarters building of a major diamond company owned by the whites since the era of South African rule. The latter face is represented by black slums in the suburbs of Windhoek, straw-roofed houses in local villages and half-naked children with dirty and worn-out short pants who play in the fields barefooted.

The Namibian cabinet ministers repeatedly said: "Now that political independence has been achieved, a new struggle has begun for economic independence." As long as there are "two faces", independent Namibia will remain unstable and will not develop.

It is clear that there is still a long and difficult road ahead to realize "one nation, one Namibia", the slogan of the nation after independence.

One day we went to observe the Annual Conference of the National Mining Labour Union, held in Windhoek. The General Secretary and the senior staff of the Union complained to us:

"Independence has not contributed to raising our poor standard of living."

"The lowest-priced bread-line asks 200 rand per month. But many workers never get even half of that."

"The whites still hold the top positions in the mining industry."

"The white managers explain that a part of the mining revenue is used for technical training of workers. But we have never seen any black workers receive such training. The lack of skilled labour makes nationalization impossible."

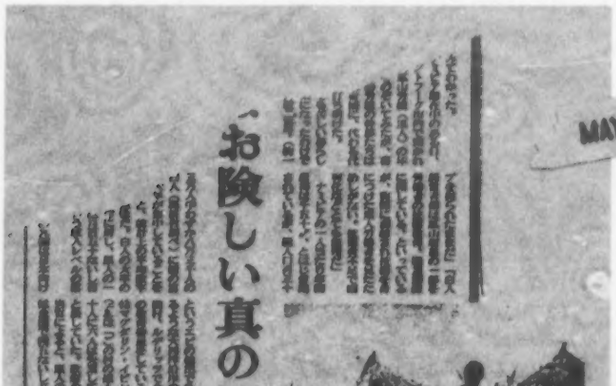
In Namibia, the per capita annual income is 1,050 rand. However, this doesn't reflect the true picture, since 83,000 whites out of the total population of 1,330,000 control most of the national wealth. There is a huge income gap between the whites with a college education who earn 5,000 rand a month and the black blue-collar workers whose monthly earning is a meagre 150-160 rand.

Lüderitz is a small fishing village on the Atlantic coast. Ninety per cent of the total shrimp catch is exported to Japan. There I met Ms. Magdeline Ipinje, 29, a member of the local education board. She said that six out of ten blacks there were unemployed. According to an economist official of the Government, the nation-wide unemployment rate of blacks is 45-50 per cent. I often saw people who, without jobs, were aimlessly wandering the streets of Windhoek in the early morning hours.

Although the size of Namibia is more than twice that of Japan, 80 per cent of the country is made up of desert and rocky mountains. Water shortage is a serious problem. Namibia has been too dependent on food imports. There is no way for Namibia to become self-sufficient in food production. The Deputy Minister for Agriculture urged that 50 per cent of the funds for agricultural development be covered by foreign aid. "We want everything we can get now, because there are so many people who are starving", explained Prime Minister Hage Geingob.

The UN will hold a pledging conference of donor countries on 21 and 22 June in New York as part of its "aftercare" plan for Namibia. In November, an international conference for investment in Namibia will be held in Windhoek, with participants from both Governments and the private sector. According to Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan sent an economic and technical mission to Namibia to research the needs of the country. It will also send its representatives to the UN pledging conference in June.

"Namibianization", that is, building the nation by the Namibians for the Namibians, "will begin in a year or two", said Mr. Chombe, the Editorial Chief of *The Times of Namibia*. He added that "we will not become a banana republic". He seemed to be optimistic about the direction in which the Nujoma Administration is heading and about the future of Namibia. At the same time, he struck a cautious note by saying: "If the ordinary people are left out of the privileged class and their level of frustration reaches the limit, they may rebel. We have a history of a bloody 20-year colonial war led by the guerrillas of the South West Africa People's Organization.



MAY 17 1990

FINLAND

MAY 25 1990

SUOMEN KUVALEHTI

NAMIBIA

Itsenäisyys ei ole sama asia kuin vapaus

NAMIBIA: INDEPENDENCE IS NOT THE SAME AS FREEDOM

"Our free nation of Namibia", declare the proclamations everywhere in recently liberated Namibia. It is still a dream.

by Antti Blafield

"Even at night, when I can't sleep, I pinch myself and ask, 'Is it really true, is it now here?'" said Mr. Vezera Kandetu, Secretary of State of the Ministry of Information of the new Namibian Government, as he greeted the foreign press in Tinten Palace, the administration building that was built by the colonialists. This is where the first Government of independent Namibia has been functioning for a period of seven weeks.

On the same day, 23 April, the General Assembly of the United Nations, on the other side of the globe, stood up and welcomed Namibia to the world Organization as its 160th Member.

The last African colony has joined the body of nations. The era of colonial domination, of colonialization, has been declared extinct.

But has it ended, after all? What does independence mean when a country with a thousand kilometres of coastline does not have a single port, when a country does not have its own currency, a central bank, a customs service, an army? When almost the entire industry of a country is in foreign hands?

Namibia is more than twice the size of Finland, about the same size as France and Germany together. Some parts of the country consist of non-arable desert: sand and black, rocky mountains. There are only four permanent rivers in Namibia.

With a population of 1.7 million, the country's gross national product (GNP) is about 4 billion rand (about 6 billion markkaa). In Finland, the forestry industry would hardly be regarded as economically viable if its turnover were that small.

Agriculture provides employment for over 70 per cent of the population but accounts for only 10 per cent of the GNP. Mining, which provides employment for only 5 per cent of the population, accounts for about one third of the GNP.

Only somewhat more than 300,000 people can be regarded as economically active members of Namibia's labour force. Over half of the inhabitants are under age 15, and a large percentage live in the northern areas of the nation outside the labour markets, in what is almost a nature-based economic system that contributes little to the national economy.

The unemployment rate is largely conjectural, but is generally estimated to be between 30 and 40 per cent.

Out of every thousand black children who start school, only seven succeed in completing the 12-year course. The illiteracy rate is over 60 per cent.

The white population numbers about 80,000. The whites live in the best residential areas and work at the best-paying jobs. Five per cent of the population earn an average annual income of more than 60,000 markkaa. The average for 55 per cent of the population is under 260 markkaa.

Namibia was among the last of the African countries to come under colonial domination. Namibia's wilderness area—a deep desert extending for hundreds of kilometres along almost all of the coast—long served as its protective shield. The Namib Desert, considered to be the oldest in the world, frightened off, among others, the Portuguese who came to the coast.

In the late 1800s, the Germans made their appearance in the land. First came the Rhineland Lutheran Missionary Society, then merchants and finally soldiers. About the same time, the first members of the Finnish missionary society came to what is now the northern part of Namibia—Ovamboland.

At the Berlin Congress of 1884, the great Powers of Europe divided up the world. Germany got Namibia, which from then on was called South West Africa.

There is still a strong German presence in Namibia. An example of this, on the coast, is the idyllic town of Swakopmund, which is like a small German village. Street and shop names are still in German, and the language generally spoken by the whites continues to be German. The town's railway station is considered to be a fine example of German architecture at the turn of the century.

In the central highlands of Namibia, a variety of grass grows that is well suited to grazing. The Germans took the areas of the highlands inhabited by the Hereros away from them and began raising beef cattle. Somewhat further south, the breeding of Karakul lambs from central Russia was introduced.

The Germans also built railways connecting the various parts of the country.

At the turn of the century, a railway inspector named Adolf Strauch was directing railway work near the small town of Lüderitz in the southern part of the Namib Desert. He heard about a Captain R. Jones, who 11 years earlier had arrived in Cape Town, South Africa, with a bag of diamonds. Jones said he had discovered them on a small island close by the Namib Desert, but before he had a chance to disclose to anybody the location of the island, he died.

Strauch had become convinced that diamonds could also be found in the desert sands. He urged the track workers to bring him any shiny stones they might come across. In May of 1908, Zacharias Lewala caught sight of a stone glistening in the sun, and he took it to Strauch. It was a diamond.

Strauch had discovered a huge diamond area. The diamonds, in prehistoric times, had been hurled into the sea in volcanic eruptions and, in the course of thousands of years, had washed up from there into the Namib Desert, where, as loose stones, they came to rest on the bedrock. The diamond field is covered by dunes ranging in thickness from half a metre to 20 metres.

Strauch found the Idatal Valley, where all the sand had been swept off the bedrock by the wind. He and his companions spent a feverish night in the moonlight grabbing up and stuffing into their pockets the glistening diamonds.

In 1915, Germany ceded South West Africa to South Africa, which occupied the colony on England's behalf. This was the beginning of 75 years of South African occupation.

South Africa also quickly took possession of the Namib diamond field. The southern part ofv the Namib Desert,

which covers almost the entire western region of Namaland, was declared to be a restricted area. This came into the possession of the South African businessman Ernest Oppenheimer, who combined a number of diamond claims into a single company, Consolidated Diamond Mines (CDM). CDM is part of the De Beers world-wide diamond cartel.

CDM has kept taking over more and more Namib Desert land. The dunes are moved aside by huge conveyers. Next, the bare bedrock is sucked clean by a vacuum cleaner the size of a small apartment house. Finally, black workers who are admitted to the area sweep up the tiniest grains lodged in crevices of the rock.

CDM has been emptying the Namib Desert of diamonds for the past 70 years. Diamonds are still being found there, however, including millions of carats annually of the best grades. Ninety-six per cent of Namibia's diamonds qualify directly as gems. In other diamond mines, the proportion of poor-quality industrial diamonds is much greater.

Several hundred kilometres north of the area, the desert gives way to dark-coloured mountains. In the midst of these is Rössing, the world's largest uranium mine.

Uranium was discovered in the area as early as the 1920s, but it was not until the mid-1970s that the British mining giant, Rio Tinto Zinc, decided to begin mining Namibian uranium.

Up until last year, the uranium mine operated under an embargo imposed by the United Nations. Its products could not be bought, and no mining equipment could be sold to it.

Uranium, however, was for sale. As to whom, Rössing is silent. Obtaining equipment has likewise been no problem. In an open-pit mine 250 metres deep and 3.5 kilometres long, the roar of drilling rigs can be heard. They include the Finnish Tamrock rigs, which, according to Sean James, the Assistant Manager of Rössing, were purchased through London during the time the embargo was in force. He also had high praise for Outokumpi instruments.

Rössing is Namibia's most important source of revenue. It pays one third of the nation's tax receipts. In the future its significance can only increase. The continuing slump in nuclear-power production during the 1980s has ended, and the world's uranium stocks are decreasing. As a result, the price of uranium is expected to rise again, and Rössing believes it will be able to increase production significantly in the next few years.

All the other Namibian mines are also foreign-owned. Tsumeb, in northern Namibia, is the site of a large copper mine and smelter owned by South Africans. It is especially notorious for the appalling working conditions there. The mine employs migrant labourers brought in from other areas, who live away from their families in crowded villages of huts.

A large part of the work is farmed out to subcontractors, whose treatment of the workers is even worse.

At the very best, a worker earns a monthly wage of about 1,500 markkaa. According to Ben Ulenga, the General Secretary of the Namibian mineworkers' trade union, people working for less reputable firms fare the worst, earning 100 markkaa a month.

The most enlightened heads of mining companies have come to realize that things cannot continue like this. CDM and Rössing have built towns next to the mines located in the desert, and the workers living there have been provided with houses of about 60 to 70 square metres in size. The mines have also built churches, schools, hospitals and kindergartens in the towns. Rössing has even set up a co-operative clothing factory to provide employment for miners' wives and has established a vocational school for the younger generation.

Rössing also decided to win the goodwill of the new Government by announcing that it was establishing Namibia's first technical institute in Arandis, a Rössing mining town.

Rössing has also invested some of its funds in the southern port town of Lüderitz. It has decided to build Namibia's first merchant-marine school there.

Namibia's fisheries used to be among the richest in the world. In the colonial period, however, the fishing fleets of other countries exploited the fisheries to such an extent that the fish stocks were depleted to an alarming degree.

One of the products of the sea is the crawfish, the annual catch of which even up to a few years ago amounted to thousands of tonnes. This year's fishing season terminated at the end of April. The catch was only half of what it used to be. The official explanation is low oxygen content of the water. Area residents, however, blame overfishing.

The worst plundering of Namibia's fisheries was carried out by the fishing fleets of Japan, Poland, Portugal, Romania, South Africa, the Soviet Union and Spain.

When Namibia became independent on 21 March 1990, a 200-mile-wide economic zone for the protection of territorial waters was decreed. The fishing fleets were called upon to leave the waters, but the Spanish, at least, are still continuing to fish.

Fishing could be Namibia's most significant source of revenue and its most important employer. At the present time, however, it has almost no importance at all. Most of the catch from Namibia's waters is processed on factory ships anchored outside the territorial waters or in foreign processing plants.

The foreign fishing fleets are quite large. The size of the Spanish fleet alone is estimated at 150 vessels. In Spain, the employment generated by Namibian fisheries is believed to provide a living for 50,000 persons.

At the present time, the Namibian Government has no means at its disposal for stopping the rape of its fisheries other than the sympathy of the world.

Mr. Hifikepunya Pohamba, Minister for the Interior, flew down in a small aircraft at the end of April to Lüderitz to celebrate the commissioning of the country's first police boat. The possibilities, however, of a small boat with a two-man crew patrolling more than a thousand kilometres of

territorial waters in the Atlantic—and perhaps having to do so in an unexpectedly violent storm—are not very promising.

The state of readiness of the Namibian coast guard is not very high. It is the hope of the Deputy Minister for Agriculture, Mr. Kaire Mbuende, that the country will be able to afford three police boats and one helicopter.

The fate of the fisheries is linked with meat production. Annual meat production in the country's central highlands is 70,000 tonnes. Cows and steers weighing up to 900 kilograms are raised on large stock-farms owned by the whites. The meat is very clean and of good quality because the grazing lands of the beef cattle are endowed with natural grass.

Precipitation in the highland regions, however, is sparse and the continuing dry period from May to September is severe. Each head of cattle requires 10 hectares of pasture land. The average stock farm has a total of about 7,000 hectares. Almost all of Namibia's meat-producing livestock is taken live to South Africa. It is slaughtered there, and part of the product is brought back again to Namibia in processed form. There are four slaughterhouses in the country, only two of which are operating. South Africa thus not only benefits financially from the processing but also gets for itself the hides of the beef cattle, which in Namibia could be helpful in perhaps starting up a shoe factory.

The only way of getting out of this situation is to sell the meat to buyers other than South Africa. The only possible buyer apart from South Africa is, again, the European Community (EC). Namibia has begun negotiations with the EC concerning adherence to the so-called Lomé agreement, which regulates trade between the EC and developing countries.

Namibia's quota of meat exports to the EC is to be determined in accordance with the Lomé agreement. So far as is known, the EC Commission is prepared to accept a quota of 3,000 tonnes. Namibia would like a quota of more than 10,000 tonnes.

In the EC, Namibia's meat quota is linked to the fishing rights of Spain and other countries in Namibian waters. Thus, release from one kind of dependency is equivalent to selling rights to some other entity.

Namibia's foreign trade is physically and otherwise completely under the control of South Africa. The country's road network was built primarily in a north-south direction to serve the interests of the South African economy and army. The country's only deep-water port, Walvis Bay, is, moreover, still part of South Africa.

The special status of Walvis Bay arose from the competition between Germany and England in Africa. When German merchants were making progress in the central parts of Namibia, the British hastened to raise their flag in Walvis Bay, formerly a safe port for American whalers.

As a result, there remained in the middle of German South West Africa a port governed by England which, after the First World War, came under South African control. Up to the year 1970, Walvis Bay was part of the South African-Namibian administration. In 1977, South Africa restored it to its former special status and separated it from the rest of the South African-Namibian administration. When last year the great Powers arrived at unanimity regarding the independence of Namibia, Walvis Bay and about 10 uninhabited rocky islands off the coast of Namibia remained under South African control.

Therefore, by means of one port, South Africa has in fact blockaded Namibia. South Africa also has a military base in Walvis Bay from which military aircraft can, if necessary, reach any part of Namibia and proceed far into Angola.

Almost the entire coast of Namibia is desert land washed by the ocean. The only other port is Lüderitz. This, however, is a small fishing port in which there is no equipment capable, for example, of handling container traffic.

According to most experts, the widening of Lüderitz Bay would be "sheer folly". At a conservative estimate, it would cost $200 million (about 800 million markkaa), almost one third of the nation's budget.

If Walvis Bay were part of Namibia, as is verified in the country's Constitution countersigned by the great Powers, it would be a significant source of revenue.

The Caprivi Strip, a tongue-like projection linking the northern part of Namibia with prosperous mining districts of central Africa, belongs to Namibia. It could be used as a corridor for the transport of ore from Zaire, Zambia and Zimbabwe to the harbour of Walvis Bay. In this way, the maritime routes from Walvis Bay to the European and American markets would be thousands of miles shorter than those from the crowded and inefficient ports of Dar es Salaam (United Republic of Tanzania) and Maputo (Mozambique) on Africa's east coast.

Control of Walvis Bay and Namibia's coastal islands is also important when negotiations concerning fishing are conducted. By virtue of its control of Walvis Bay and the islands, South Africa can lay claim to control of 14 per cent of Namibia's territorial waters.

There are two views concerning South Africa's intentions. According to one interpretation, South Africa will never give up the only deep-water port in the South Atlantic between Angola's Lobito and South Africa's Cape Town. According to the other point of view, Walvis Bay is a set screw by means of which South Africa wants to protect the future of the Afrikaners living in the country as well as its own economic interest.

"We do not intend to keep Walvis Bay even as long as the Soviet Union kept Porkkala", a South African diplomat with a knowledge of Finland's history assured a Finnish colleague he had known for some time.

Walvis Bay will also be a good set screw when Namibia decides whether or not to pay the bill submitted to it by South Africa.

According to South Africa, Namibia owes it 700 million rand (about 1.1 billion markkaa). The bill is for loans obtained from South African banks and guaranteed by South Africa for the account of the Namibian Administrative Territory. As far as is known, no one in Namibia has yet seen any specific breakdown of the purposes for which South Africa used the loans.

The Namibian Government has not yet officially taken any stand on the claim. "We are still trying to find out what the debt was incurred for. If we are able to determine that it was used for military efforts against the freedom fighters, we won't pay it", says Namibian Prime Minister Hage Geingob.

Even Geingob speaks resignedly about the country's credit worthiness, which will suffer if the debt is not paid. Considerable pressure is being exerted by the International Monetary Fund, which in a preliminary report on Namibia speaks of the South African debt as an indisputable claim that Namibia must pay. Namibia would therefore be the first colony which, after independence, had to pay back to the mother country the expenditures of the colonial Government.

The birth of independence in Namibia was surprisingly painless. In the free elections organized under the supervision of the United Nations, SWAPO (South West Africa People's Organization), which had been fighting South Africa ever since the 1960s, won a majority in the country's Parliament.

The country's President is Sam Nujoma, former Chairman of SWAPO, and the country is ruled by a Government put together by SWAPO.

Socialist demagoguery, nurtured even at the time of the elections, has given way to sensible caution. The keyword is now *reconciliation*.

National reconciliation is being proclaimed by the SWAPO Government. It had already been bound to do that under the four-Power agreement on Namibia. The agreement provided that all civil servants in the Government established by South Africa may retain their posts, or at least their full wage and pension benefits. This means that the SWAPO Government must find employment for about 50,000 civil servants. This is a terribly large number, inasmuch as it is estimated that there are only 100,000 tax-paying citizens in the country.

The size of the bureaucracy is due to the fact that South Africa had determined that all the different population groups should have their own government. Thus the school systems, for example, are supervised by 11 departments of education.

"What are we doing for them?" asked Minister of Education Nahas Angula. "They are sitting there doing nothing."

The SWAPO Government also inherited a deficit budget as South Africa's legacy. The State budget, amounting to 3.5 billion markkaa, has a deficit of 800 million markkaa. The means of financing it are still undetermined.

"Democracy pays", sighs Hidipo Hamutenya, the country's Minister of Information. "We need direct budgetary support from the Western countries."

Notwithstanding the fact that the SWAPO Government is dragging along an oversized civil service, a budget deficit and a debt to South Africa amounting to more than a billion markkaa, the country's black majority is expecting a change. SWAPO won the election by promising change: in work, housing, education, health care and equal treatment.

However, a white's basic pension, for example, continues to be about 1,000 markkaa a month, whereas a black's pension is still 100 markkaa a month. Is the answer to raise the pensions of all to the level of the whites or to lower the pensions of all to the level of the blacks?

Along with independence, about 45,000 refugees have returned to Namibia, for whom work must be found. Most of them, hoping to get work, came to the capital city of Windhoek, where they live in Katutura, an area outside the city designated for blacks by South Africa.

Within a year, the population of Windhoek is estimated to have grown by 50,000. If the estimate is correct, the city's population has increased by half. The unemployment rate in Katutura is estimated to be 50 per cent. The crime rate has risen explosively within the year.

The migrants often have nowhere to live, but they sleep in the small brick houses of relatives in Katutura.

Simon Manuel, 19, shares with his sister, Christina, a 40-square-metre, three-room house—along with seven other people. There is no electricity; a hydrant is at the back of a small yard. Of the nine people in the house, only Christina has a job. She earns only 600 markkaa a month working as a hotel chambermaid. The rent is somewhat more than 400 markkaa a month.

Manuel understands the Government's difficulties. "It is necessary to be patient. The Government has to be given time", he says. According to him, a change is, however, going to occur by the end of next year.

"If nothing does happen, we will overthrow the Government. We will become anarchists", says SWAPO Students' League member Manuel.

Simon Manuel and his family live relatively well. Katutura's new housing area is called Hakahana ("shoot up"). It was built in a year on a gravel slope. Each house has two apartments, each of about 10 square metres, with an indoor hydrant and shower, no electricity. As there is no threshold at the front door, mud and ooze flow into an apartment during the rainy season. A hospital charwoman with six children lives in one of the apartments. A monthly wage of slightly more than 300 markkaa must suffice to cover the 150 markkaa needed for rent and 22 markkaa for a floodlight in the centre of the area.

The fastest growing group is that of the homeless, who have built their own mud huts or corrugated sheet-iron shacks between the government-built brick housing.

"Reconciliation cannot just be something to guarantee the privileges of the whites", says Ben Amathila, Minister of Trade and Industry. "It is a two-way street."

The Government quickly needs to show at least some

indication that change has begun. The time-honoured means would be, for example, nationalization of the mines.

SWAPO, however, shies away from talking about nationalization. "The first thing is to get one's own house in order; only then is it possible to talk about nationalization", says Amathila. The Minister of Mining, Andimba Toivo ya Toivo, had earlier precipitately proposed nationalization, but then took back what he had said, claiming that the press had misinterpreted his words.

Nationalization would in any case be costly. The value of the Rössing mine alone is estimated to be 3 billion markkaa.

Namibia's whites are satisfied. They praised SWAPO's new Government as making a wise decision. Those who in the late 1970s fled to South Africa in view of the impending change are now trying to move back.

The road to reconciliation is certainly the only one that will lead Namibia to prosperity and a more even distribution of income.

But how do you tell that to the workers of the Katutura slums, who day after day stand around in downtown Windhoek waiting for work?

As far as reconciliation is concerned, it is pointless to mention the subject to the many merchants who are selling barbed-wire fencing, firearms and guard services and are thus enjoying an economic boom.

How is it possible to explain the significance of reconciliation to D.G. Whitecombe, Personnel Manager of the Navachabi gold mine, who affirms on the mine's bulletin board that the asbestos used in workers' housing built by the mine is not a health hazard?

How can the necessity of reconciliation be explained to the mother in Lüderitz who, hoping for a few extra rand, sells her child to provide amusement for strangers coming to the city to work during the fishing season? The youngest prostitutes are under 10 years of age.

Or how do you explain the concept of reconciliation to workers employed by a subcontracting firm doing excavation work in a Navachabi gold mine? They have come to the mine, situated in central Namibia, mainly from northern Ovamboland. On Fridays, work stops as early as 12 noon so that they will have enough time to be able to spend the weekend with their families in the north.

The long trip home from the mine begins by running in the midday heat, wearing helmets and overalls, along a road following a straight line to the horizon. Thirteen miles away is the town of Karibib, from where it may be possible to get on to the bed of a truck travelling to the north.

How do you explain that reconciliation is also giving the mine to its South African Manager, R. L. Attridge, who passes by a line of dozens of men running in the heat, in a blue Mercedes? In the same way, the first act of the Government of independent Namibia was to get similar perquisites for all the Ministers.

WORK IS THE KEY TO ALL

On the eve of May Day 1964, Claudius Hengari-Kandjou, who was then 21, began a long journey: he had to leave Namibia.

He had spent time in prison for having participated in a demonstration of blacks against deportations.

With two friends he walked from Windhoek's Katutura to Botswana. The South African police were watching for them along the roadsides in the villages, but the young men went around the villages by walking along old cattle trails.

At 12 o'clock on May Day, they crossed the Botswana border. "Ever since then, May Day has been liberation day for me."

Claudius Hengari-Kandjou was moved from a refugee camp in Botswana to another camp in Lusaka (Zambia) and from there to Tanzania. From Tanzania he was sent to a university in New York, U.S.A., from where Martti Ahtisaari, hired him to work in his office. In addition to his United Nations duties, Hengari-Kandjou also graduated from Oxford University in England.

In June 1989, Claudius Hengari-Kandjou's 25 years as an expatriate came to an end. He returned to Namibia and now, as a private consultant, is trying to build up the economic life of the country.

He has been working up to now as a United Nations consultant in Namibia and is well versed in how the procedures for sending aid to Namibia from the world Organization and various countries are put into motion.

He is somewhat disillusioned and apprehensive. The

same mistakes are being repeated in Namibia as have been made in nearly every African country.

The first arrivals, here, travelling first class by air, are United Nations experts: tens, hundreds of very well-dressed men and women carrying out dozens of in-depth studies of the country's economy, health care, education, mining operations, fishing, water conditions and housing situation.

After that, they direct their ideas to those who are rising to power, to the Ministers who for most of their lives have lived abroad.

In the wake of the United Nations personnel, consultants arrive seeking deals, development co-operation projects that private Western companies carry out and the Governments of wealthy countries pay for. Thus, television networks, schools and hospitals are being built, and tractors are being brought into the fields.

In Namibia, too, we have run across the agents from Nokia, Outokumpu and other firms who are sniffing out the possibilities of profiting from government-financed risk-free businesses.

Smaller wind-sniffers too are riding on the coat-tails of the large companies. Exploratory visits to Namibia have already been made by such self-styled businessmen as Peter Fryckman.

There is a lot of money in this business. On 21 June, the "donor States" for Namibia met at the United Nations Headquarters at the donors' conference convened by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, at which they officially committed themselves to the well-known typical programme. Although the amount of assistance is not yet officially known, it is roughly estimated that the various kinds of aid promised to Namibia will amount to approximately 700 million rand (about 1.1 million markkaa).

Finland has already promised a total of 210 million markkaa. The assistance will be apportioned over a four-year period. In addition, 5 million to 8 million markkaa will be allotted annually through voluntary development aid.

The Namibian Government should be able within a few weeks to inform the international community of what it specifically needs. The Government has already prepared a preliminary list: 600 separate projects. Of these 300 are classified as priorities. Among the persons acting as adivisers to the Government is Pekka Korpinen, who heads the Workers' Economic Research Institute and is paid by the United Nations Development Programme.

As a result, there may well be several years of development-aid confusion, after which it will be found that Namibia's revenues, the inequalities of human worth and dependence on foreign capital have not changed at all. It will be found that the need for assistance is still as acute as ever.

Claudius Hengari-Kandjou would prefer that, instead of the massive aid benefiting the Western companies, the Namibians should be helped to help themselves.

In his opinion, the key to all development is work. "If people merely have houses built for them, but are not given work, the place where they live will be a slum within a year. But if people are given work, they will have built themselves a house within a year. As long as there is no work for people, they won't let their children go to school either, because all members of the family must try to get money one way or another."

Hengari-Kandjou talks about small enterprises, which do not need millions of rand in capital—small brickyards, poultry farms, vegetable plots, shoemaker shops—each of which would create a few job opportunities, and they in turn would generate new services around them.

"The best thing that the Scandinavian countries could do would be to establish a development fund for Namibia that would grant Namibians low-interest, long-term loans.

All Namibian banks are under either German or South African ownership, and small black enterprises are unable to get money from them for lack of security. The interest rate is about 20 per cent.

The development-aid profiteering of the Western companies also exasperates representatives of the Namibian Government. Mr. Leake Hangala, head of the secretariat of the Ministry of Mining, is a geologist who obtained his Ph.D. degree from Helsinki University. He has followed the travels of the Outokumpu people, among others, in Namibia.

"They have been here, but they do not want to do any investing in this country. They only want their share of the development-aid money."

Leake Hangala hopes that Outokumpu, instead of hunting development-aid grants, will invest its money in Namibia. "Outokumpu is a company known and respected all over the world. We wish Outokumpu well in prospecting and exploiting our ore resources, in investing in this country."

The mapping of new ore deposits is urgent because Tsumeb's copper mine will be depleted in five years, the southern Namibian diamond fields in 12 years and Rössing's uranium in 25 years.

New investments would create job opportunities for Namibia in an entirely different way than development projects devised abroad.

Outokumpu's disappointing attitude may turn out to be short-sighted. Namibia's terrain has not yet been fully prospected. Outokumpu, which increasingly depends on foreign mines for its operations, may still come to realize that relying on a development co-operation boom in the 1980s was a mistake. Financing the difficulties of Eastern Europe may lead to a situation in which development co-operation resources will not, in any case, experience real growth. In that event, even in the developing countries it will be necessary to know how to operate at one's own risk.

It may be particularly difficult if goodwill has not been shown when it was hoped for.

JAPAN

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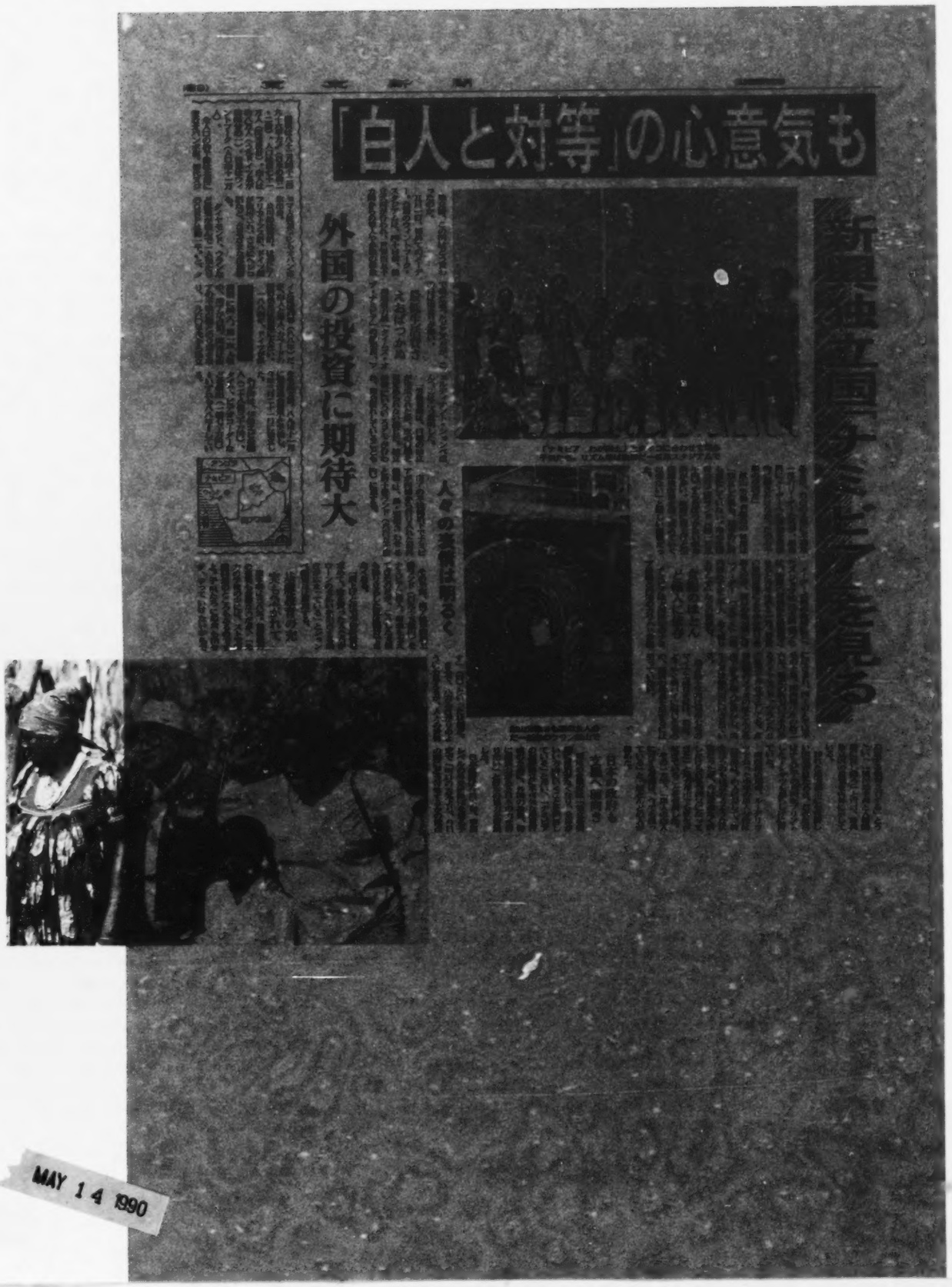
「白人と対等」の心意気も

新興独立国「ナミビア」を見る

外国の投資に期待大

人々の表情は明るく

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MANY DIFFICULTIES LIE BEFORE NAMIBIA IN ACHIEVING ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE

by Noriomi Sasaki

Namibia is the newest independent nation in the world. It achieved independence from South Africa in March 1990. Dawn came to the "last colony in Africa". Only 1.7 million people live in this land, which is twice as large as Japan. Plagued with unemployment, economic dependency and many other difficulties, where is Namibia heading today? I visited Namibia as a participant in a UN media tour (11 journalists from 10 countries participated in this tour). I observed the current situation in Namibia, which just joined the United Nations and made a fresh start as a member of the international community.

High Rate of Unemployment and Low Wages

The capital, Windhoek, is 1,800 metres in elevation. Its population is about 110,000. The city is at a latitude equivalent to that of Hong Kong in the northern hemisphere. The sun glares strongly even in winter. But it gets cold enough at night to require wearing a sweater.

The windows of the shops on Kaizer Street, a main thoroughfare, were decorated with the new national flag, designed with a yellow sun on a background of blue, red and green. White men in neat suits and black women with African hairstyles pass by signboards written partly in German.

Capital's Environment Deteriorates due to Population Concentration

Looking down at the city from a church located halfway up the hill, I felt as if I were in the countryside of a European town.

However, there were beggars and young people loitering on the main street. "As the population of the city grew after independence, robberies increased", said a resident. An owner of a German restaurant lamented: "The police let thieves go a couple of hours after they have been arrested."

The increase in the inflow of people from Ovamboland who came to Windhoek seeking jobs seems to have contributed to the city's environmental deterioration. More than half of the country's total population live in Ovamboland, near the northern border with Angola.

The national unemployment rate exceeds 30 per cent and presents a major challenge to Namibia, which was just cut free from a 100-year colonial rule.

Three Families of 14 People Live Together in a House which Has Only Three Rooms

The situation dramatically changes once one goes outside the city. Hastily built flat houses make up the Katutura district north-west of the city. A young mother, who was washing clothes at a community water-pump, said that three families consisting of six adults and eight children live together in a three-room house.

Almost 10 children, seeing the UN sign on our chartered bus, ran to us. Some adults also showed up. A man of about 30 said angrily: "Everyone comes here to take pictures for political purposes. Whites never recognize us as human beings. So, I will never work for them. People, black and white, are the same human beings created by God. You Japanese understand, don't you?"

"More than half of the people in this district are unemployed", said our bus driver. There are almost no whites who are unemployed. The disparity between blacks and whites is therefore clear. Whites enjoy economic superiority.

Businessmen Flock to Namibia; "Resource Diplomacy" with Uranium

Independence brought in some new trends. Japanese businessmen began entering Namibia as from the end of April. Some were still "checking around". But others expressed expectations of "resource diplomacy" by saying: "We could do a lot of business here. The question is whether or not the Japanese Government will put up official development assistance (ODA) for uranium production."

Houses Beyond Blue-Collar Workers' Reach

A realtor in the city told me that he knew of nice houses which were suitable for Japanese businessmen. I took a look at one of them. This house was located in the first-rate area, about four kilometres away from the centre of the city. The land measured 500 square kilometres. The house had three bedrooms, a spacious living room, a kitchen, and a swimming pool surrounded by lawn. The price was 250,000 rand (about 16.25 million yen).

Compared to a Japanese house of the same size and style, the price is amazingly cheap. But this is beyond the reach of most blacks. Black workers earn only 100 rand (6,500 yen) monthly, and black clerks, 500 rand (23,500 yen).

THE FACE OF NEWLY INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA

Desire to be "Equal with Whites"; High Expectations for Foreign Investment

by Noriomi Sasaki

What has changed since Namibia became independent? On 1 May, Namibia's first May Day, not many people gathered at the Windhoek stadium. Just 40 days before that, the same stadium, where the independence ceremony was held, had accommodated public figures from some 150 countries and an enthusiastic crowd.

Hard to Earn even the Minimum Cost of Living Wage

Ferdinand Chombe, the 32-year-old chief editor of *The Times of Namibia*, explained the poor attendance to us: "The labour movement has not achieved its next objective after independence. Workers waged demonstrations right before and after independence. They became tired of gatherings. Moreover, some labour leaders who were not satisfied with personnel management of the union did not actively appeal to the workers to participate in the May Day celebration."

The leaders of the mining labour union said with stern faces: "Nothing has changed since independence. Many union members have difficulty earning even the minimum cost-of-living wage of 200 rand (about 13,000 yen). We must strongly demand from the Government wage increases and an improvement in living conditions."

President Sam Nujoma, 60 years old, stressed in his speech at the May Day ceremony that he would give top priority to reducing unemployment. He also appealed for mutual concessions in collective bargaining between labour and management. However, local newspapers carried headlines such as "The Labour Day Fiasco" and "Only 2,000 People".

Dependence on Food Imports

Namibia is located between the Namib Desert on the Atlantic coast and the Kalahari Desert inland. Most of the land is barren. The mining of uranium, diamonds and other precious metals produces 26 per cent of the gross domestic product and accounts for 70 per cent of exports. But Namibia still imports from South Africa most of the maize, the main staple of the Namibians. In turn, beef and mutton are exported.

The economic growth rate has fallen 7 per cent a year for the last 10 years. Although the rate has recently stabilized, the economy is far from recovered.

Education Needs to be Improved Urgently

The literacy rate is 38 per cent. Improving basic education is an urgent necessity. But "some local schools are barely open due to strikes", said Mr. Chombe. "These schools cannot provide students with lunches." Although the situation looks bleak, people do not look grim.

The Namibian Constitution declares in its preamble that "all people are equal and have the right to pursue happiness regardless of race, colour of skin or sex", and that "we fight against colonialism and racial segregation." It demonstrates the spirit of the newly independent nation.

The new national flag was hoisted high, even in the outlying cities we visited. Young people proudly wore T-shirts with the map of Namibia.

A middle-aged black woman we met in the south-western seaport town of Lüderitz emphasized that some changes were occurring even in outlying cities. "Before, we were afraid of talking to whites. But now, we can talk to them without hesitation." On the other hand, many people admitted that blacks still harbour some resentment towards whites.

Japanese Government's Willingness to Assist Namibia

"We expect that any discrimination will be eliminated after independence and that everything will be on the right track", said local entrepreneurs. They invited Japan's co-operation: "We need foreign investment, in particular Japan's assistance, in order to build industries which are essential for Namibia's economic independence."

The Japanese Government is planning to send a working-level diplomatic mission to Namibia at the end of this month. "We would like to explore ways we can offer assistance, since we should deal with today's rain rather than worry about tomorrow's weather", remarked an official of the Japanese Foreign Ministry. Japan intends to assist Namibia actively.

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